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A Short History of Manchester and Salford

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Photo by R. H. Fletcher.]

Roman Pottery found in Manchester, and now in the Queen's Park Museum.

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A SHORT HISTORY

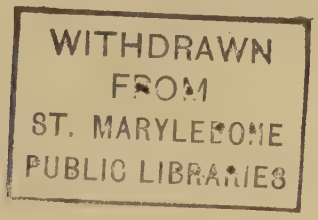
OF

Manchester and Salford

BY

F. A. BRUTON, M.A., LITT.D.

Editor of "The Roman Fort at Manchester,"
"Three Accounts of Peterloo by Eyewitnesses,"
etc.



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To

The Boys and Girls

of

Manchester and Salford

. . . . . DAY BY DAY BEHOLDING THE MANIFESTATIONS OF THE CITY'S POWER, AND BECOMING HER LOVERS; AND REFLECTING, WHENEVER YOU ARE IMPRESSED BY HER GREATNESS, THAT IT WAS BY COURAGE, AND A SENSE OF DUTY, AND SHRINKING FROM DISHONOURABLE DEEDS, THAT MEN RAISED HER TO THAT POWER . .

Speech of Pericles to the Athenians (circ. B.C. 430).

THUCYDIDES II, 43.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

It was the wish of the writer of this Short History that the Book should have no preface, no footnotes, and no appendices. It is, however, a duty as well as a pleasure, to acknowledge here the assistance he has received from many friends.

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The work was undertaken in the first instance at the suggestion of Professor Tout, and but for his kind insistence it is probable that the book would never have been written.

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The loan of blocks is acknowledged below each illustration, but I would wish also to name here those who have helped in the matter.

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Information concerning the work done during the Great War was communicated most kindly and readily by the Secretaries of a host of organisations, too numerous to mention.

* * * *

The result of an attempt to compress into less than three hundred pages so complex and far-reaching a history as that of Manchester and Salford is not likely to command universal approval. The one aim which the writer has kept in view has been to place within reach of the younger members of the community an outline, at any rate, of this most fascinating story.

* * * *

All proceeds due to the author from the sale of this publication are divided equally between the Manchester Royal Infirmary and the Salford Royal Hospital.

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INTRODUCTION.

MANCHESTER and Salford, as we know them to-day, form a community of over a million inhabitants, covering an area of more than forty square miles; together they rank as one of the greatest trading ports of the Empire, the centre of a number of important industries, the home of a university and other noted educational institutions, the see, one of an Anglican, the other of a Roman Catholic bishop, the focus of many great causes and social movements.

If we attempt to unravel the story of the infancy of this great metropolis of the north of England, and trace its growth through the centuries, three facts force themselves upon our consideration. We find, first of all, that the physical characteristics of the district in which Manchester and Salford lie have had an important influence upon their development; secondly, that their story is rooted deep in antiquity; lastly, that their history falls into two well-defined periods,—the first covering many centuries, during which their growth was slow and comparatively uneventful; the second extending over about a century and a half, during which their expansion has been almost phenomenal.

The first chapter of this book deals with the physical characteristics of the district, in so far as they have been a factor in the growth of the community; it may be interesting to indicate at this point some of the questions that are suggested by even a casual glance at the local history; questions which it must be our aim to answer as we proceed.

How far, for example, will the records or the relics which we possess carry us back? At what date do we obtain our earliest reliable picture of either Manchester or Salford? Which of the two comes on the scene first? Where do the serious gaps in the story occur?

Why, again, should the population (to take Manchester alone) have remained for many centuries that of a mere

country town, and then suddenly leap, as it did, from 22,000 in the year 1770, to 70,000 in the year 1800, to 200,000 by the date of the Reform Bill, and to over 700,000 at the time of the census of 1911?

As a further point: we shall find that for many centuries Manchester was a manor. What exactly does this mean? How is it, moreover, that Manchester remained a manor, and was actually under a lord of the manor, till near the middle of the nineteenth century? How did it happen that neither Manchester nor Salford was constituted a borough, and neither of them had a regular representative in Parliament till after the passing of the Reform Act of 1832?

To a stranger, however, the most puzzling question is probably this: Why should Manchester and Salford exist side by side, with no line of demarcation except a small river, now largely hidden from view; yet each with its own mayor and corporation, its own tramway system and various municipal departments; "Salford," as De Quincey put it in 1856, "holding the same relation to Manchester that Argos did to Mycenæ"? "Manchester," the visitor is told, "is in the hundred of Salford, but Salford is in the parish of Manchester." He is still more puzzled when he reads that "it was a stroke of a Norman baron's pen that divorced Manchester and Salford in all but their devotions, and that what he has sundered no one has ever been able to bring together again."

Still other questions arise. Why, for example, should Salford bear the proud title through the centuries of a "Royal" manor, and why should it be able to boast that it is still a Royal manor, with the reigning monarch as its lord? How does it come about that this same monarch is also Duke of Lancaster? And why should Lancashire itself be a County Palatine?

All these apparent anomalies are gradually explained, if we go back and patiently trace the story of the origin and growth, side by side, of these two communities of Manchester and Salford.

* * * *

We have spoken of the rapid growth of population in recent times. The great increase in the figures for Manchester is partly due to its periodical absorption of the surrounding districts or townships. Salford has not yet extended its boundaries in the same way. Many of the townships thus absorbed in the modern city are, as we shall see, of great antiquity; some, indeed, once formed part of the original manor of Manchester; all were included in the great parish of the same name. Thus the story of Manchester necessarily includes the story of these districts, and we shall return to them later.

* * * *

The literature bearing upon the various aspects of Manchester and Salford covers a wide range; apart from this, however, careful attention to the following points will help us greatly in our study of the subject, in spite of the fact that the traces of earlier times are rapidly vanishing. (1) Small as they may seem, the streams which converge near the heart of this great community (they are enumerated later), though they have in some instances quite disappeared from view, have had an important influence in deciding the position of the earlier settlements, and in fixing boundaries which persist even to the present time. In some cases the only trace of them now left is in the names of the streets in their vicinity. (2) As already indicated, it is desirable to make a careful examination of the various townships that surround, or form part of, the Manchester of to-day. (3) It is specially important to become familiar with certain streets and bridges that date back to very early times. As is the case with many of the Continental cities, these oldest streets radiate from the vicinity of the Cathedral, and few things will help us more in our effort to call up the Manchester and Salford of the past than wandering round these old thoroughfares, and then crossing Victoria Bridge in order to trace the little triangle of streets that still represents the Salford of long ago. For the streets of Manchester, if we will only see them aright, are thronged with the memories of nearly two thousand years, and still ring with the echoes of the great causes with which they have

been associated, and the men and women who were identified with them. (4) The same, of course, is true of the traces still existing of the Roman settlement. Though these are more hidden by modern developments (as we shall see later) it is even possible to show that the lie of the existing streets in the vicinity of the Roman fort was really determined by Roman engineers in the second century. (5). Streets and thoroughfares persist long after buildings have disappeared. Some of the public buildings have been reconstructed, and have even changed their sites. Modern street-planning is fast sweeping away the few remaining inns and dwelling houses of the past. It is all the more important that we should familiarise ourselves with such as are still left to us. Above all, the Cathedral, and the pile now known as Chetham's Hospital are specially worthy of study. Much of the later history, again, centres round such structures as Trinity Church, Salford, Cross Street Chapel, and St. Ann's Church. The very existence of the open space known as St. Ann's Square, in the heart of the modern city, takes us back to the earliest records of the little town. The oldest railway station in the world, scarcely altered, is still in use here. Further afield, there are yet standing in Manchester, in Salford, and in the surrounding district, many of the halls or manor-houses which were once the residences of notable families, and are closely connected with the local history. (6) Even some of the modern streets bear names that call up old associations. (7) The statues which adorn the public squares and parks of to-day are useful reminders of great causes and social movements with which the people of Manchester and Salford have been identified, and of the men who led them. Too little known, perhaps, are the statues which fill the niches of the Town Hall at the junction of Princess Street and Albert Square, a series selected specially to illustrate local history. (8). The various museums contain relics which illustrate the local history; special interest attaching, of course, to the "Old Manchester" collection, at present housed at Queen's Park. (9). Historical romance, too, has played its part in preserving scenes and episodes of special interest. In this connection we shall refer later to the work of several lady writers.

(10). Lastly, though the selection of subjects can hardly be described as representative, the frescoes that adorn the walls of the large room at the Town Hall, apart from their artistic merit, are at least suggestive.

We have enumerated these various traces and monuments of the past at the outset, because it is only by combining a first-hand study of these with an examination of the scattered and fragmentary literary records, that we can hope to form a really living picture of the history of the great community we are considering. The utmost we can attempt in the brief sketch that follows, is to mark a few milestones on the way, but it must be borne in mind that, disjointed and broken as our story is bound to appear, yet all the while there has been steady progress through the centuries, the character of the people has been forming, the structure of the future has been gradually built up.

What makes the story of this development extraordinarily interesting is the fact that there is hardly a phase in the history of the country as a whole, that is not in some way represented in the history of Manchester. Striking geological changes; traces of prehistoric man; a lengthy Roman occupation; references in the Anglo-Saxon chronicle; the manorial system in all its details; Domesday Book; the feudal system; the development of the town; the fortunes of a great parish; a collegiated church; a succession of typical educational foundations; the presence of the local lord at sittings of the Great Council, at such famous contests as Sluys, Crecy, and Poitiers, and as a member of the Council of Barons that extorted Magna Carta from John; direct relations with some of the most famous English Kings, and with such men as Simon de Montfort, William Longchamp, and Hubert de Burgh; the County Palatine; the results of the Reformation; the Civil War and the Siege of Manchester; the religious disputes of the Commonwealth period; the development of a staple trade; the opening up of mineral wealth; the Jacobite rebellions; the Industrial Revolution; prowess in the great wars; pioneer work in the inception and development of canals and railways; the coming of the factory system; the conversion of an agricultural district into an industrial centre;

struggles for famous reforms; the inception of trade organisations; the building up of a great inland port; a leading part in the establishment of public parks and libraries and in public patronage of the fine arts;—is there any place in the kingdom, not excluding the Metropolis, that can show a local history which is a more complete epitome of the history of the nation?

CHAPTER I.

Physical Characteristics of the Manchester District.

SURFACE GEOLOGY.

If we watch the deep excavations that are frequently made in Manchester for the foundations and basements of new buildings, the character of the rock on which the city stands at once becomes clear. In almost all cases the trenches are sunk first through a thick covering of alternating layers of sand, gravel, and clay, beneath which the spade strikes the New Red Sandstone, so soft that it generally crumbles as it is removed. The upper layers are confused and irregular; they were deposited partly by the ice-sheet that slid over the Manchester area in the glacial period, and shed its débris to a depth sometimes of nearly two hundred feet (as at Kersal Moor), obliterating to a certain extent the valleys and other features of the earlier landscape; partly by the rivers that followed the retreat of the ice, and carved for themselves new channels, meandering and constantly shifting, through the churned-up mixture of local sands and clays left by the glaciers. We frequently find in this débris erratic blocks which have been carried by the ice from the mountains of the Cumbrian group. The huge block of andesite which is preserved in the Quadrangle at the University is an example of such travelled boulders. This mass of volcanic rock, which weighs about twenty-five tons, was discovered during the construction of a sewer in Oxford Road; it still bears on its surface evidence of the scraping it underwent during its journey southwards. A still larger specimen was unearthed during the excavations for the Salford Docks; and others may be seen in the various parks.

To this thick layer of glacial drift, consisting in the main of an upper and lower stratum of "till" or boulder clay, with gravel between, is largely due the fertility of the lands in the basin of the Mersey and its tributaries; the sandstone below

would have been less productive. The drift is mainly responsible for the dreary character of the scenery immediately round Manchester; it is responsible for other features also. The rivers that ploughed their way through this soft material formed alluvial tracts out of all proportion to the size of their streams, till the latter were (by private enterprise) at length curbed by the high banks which are a feature of the district; to the shifting channels and changing levels of these streams, moreover, are due numerous river-terraces, on one of which, for example, Lower Broughton is built; the clay of the "till," again, is largely used for brick-making; lastly, it was in the shallow depressions of the glacial plain that the great swamps were formed which developed into the numerous peat-mosses that surround the city.

THE UNDERLYING ROCK.

If we could peel off this thick mantle of boulder-clay, sand, and river-gravels on which Manchester and Salford are mainly built, we should expose an irregular surface of Triassic Red sandstone and Permian rocks, faulted here and there against older strata, and ploughed and scraped by the glaciers. An attempt has been made to determine the actual contours of this pre-drift surface of red sandstone which lies under Manchester, and so obtain an approximate idea of the district as it was before the ice-sheet descended upon it from the north; assuming, of course, that the glaciers modified these features without defacing them.

We cannot here go into the details of this fascinating piece of research, which depends upon a close examination of the borings and cuttings of many years all over the city; those for sewers, for example, affording important evidence. The main fact that emerges is that the present river-valleys do not coincide with those of pre-glacial times; the present River Medlock, *e.g.*, is found to be ploughing its way over one of the pre-glacial hills, which lies under the vicinity of London Road Station; another pre-glacial hill rises somewhat abruptly between Albert Square and the Central Station; a deep pre-glacial valley, again, runs across Trafford Park, where the drift is 175 feet thick; but this valley does not coincide with

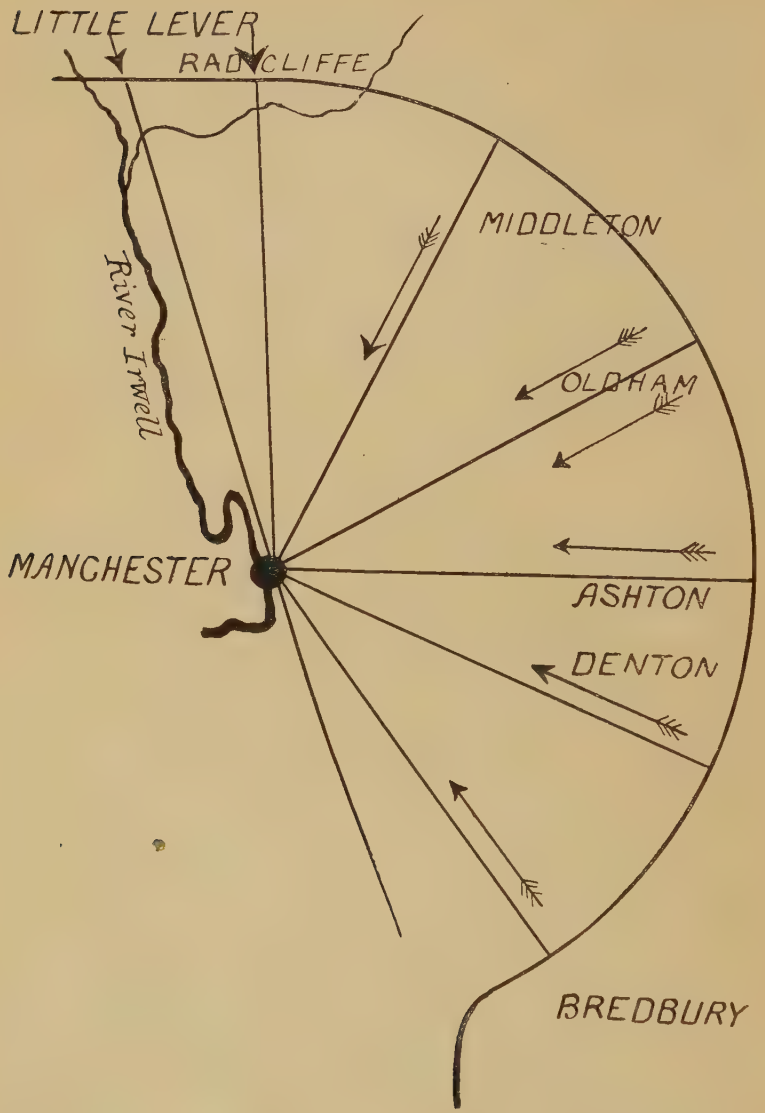
the present valley of the Irwell. The original layers of these underlying Red Sandstone rocks are not now horizontal, but dip or slope to the west and south. The slope is of course due to the great though gradual upheaval which formed the Pennine arch at the close of the Carboniferous period of the geologists.

THE PENNINE ANTICLINE.

Manchester, in fact, lies near the point where the slopes on the flank of the Pennine anticline merge into the undulating plain to the south and west. An Ordnance Bench mark a few inches above the pavement on the Mount Street corner of the Town Hall is 133.3 feet above mean sea level at Liverpool. To the north and east of the city the land rises towards a curve of hills shaped something like a crescent, one horn of which is directed towards the mouth of the Mersey, the other towards Macclesfield. This fact is easily appreciated by following one of the long straight roads out of the city. The tram-route which gradually ascends Ashton Old Road, for example, brings the traveller, at Stalybridge, right up against a high barrier of green hills. It is a curious fact, emphasised in the Geological Survey Memoir published in 1864 (and illustrated there by a special diagram) that from the valley of the Irwell right round to the valley of the Upper Mersey near Stockport (*i.e.*, nearly the arc of a semicircle with Manchester Town Hall as centre) the dip of the strata of these hills is always in the direction of Manchester. Thus, as we rise northwards and eastwards from the city, we are constantly crossing the outcrop of older rocks, the oldest strata in the district occupying the highest ground.

METEOROLOGY AND RAINFALL.

This high barrier of hills to the north and east is responsible for several important factors in the economic history of the district. The millstone grit that forms the elevated moors has proved useful as a building-stone, and these moors are the gathering ground for the rains condensed from the moisture-laden winds from the Atlantic which are constantly sweeping against them from the south-west. The main direction of the wind at Manchester is from the west, but the prevailing winds



Based upon the Memoir of the Geological Survey with the sanction of the Controller of His Majesty's Stationery Office.

Map shewing the Dip of Strata towards the centre of Manchester.

fall into two groups, one ranging from W.N.W. to W.S.W., the other from S.S.W. to E.S.E.; the latter is slightly predominant. The abundant water supply from this source has been utilised in earlier times as a driving-power, and being practically free from lime, has been of value in the local manufactures; moreover, before Manchester obtained any water from Thirlmere, it was receiving 25,000,000 gallons a day from the Longdendale Reservoirs. Further, the continual condensation of moisture, seconded by the marshy character of the lower grounds, and assisted (as has been suggested) by the thick mantle of boulder clay shed over the whole district by the ice, has given to the atmosphere just that humidity which is necessary for the success of the cotton-spinning industry. The degree of humidity is high in proportion to the rainfall, which is not excessive, an average for five years being just over thirty-three inches.

That the westerly winds carry a certain amount of salt-water from the sea at least as far as Manchester was proved by investigations made by Dr. Dalton, and recorded in the Proceedings of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society. The question of the pollution of the atmosphere finds its proper place in a later chapter.

LOCAL SOURCES OF WATER SUPPLY.

The "conduit" which furnished the first artificial water supply of Manchester, stood near the Market Place and was fed by a pipe from springs in the vicinity of the present Fountain Street and Spring Gardens. It probably dated from near the beginning of the sixteenth century, and we may gather how limited the supply was from the order issued by the Court Leet jury in October, 1578, to the effect that only one person from each family should draw water, and then only so much as one woman could carry. Long after this schemes were set on foot for raising water from the local rivers. Towards the close of the eighteenth century water was pumped from the Medlock to reservoirs near the top of Shude Hill, known as the Shude Hill pits; and during the first half of the nineteenth century Manchester was supplied from the reservoirs at Gorton. There was still another source.

Long after the water of the rivers had become unfit for use scores of wells sunk in the New Red Sandstone were yielding (we take the figure from the Memoir of the Geological Survey) five million gallons of water daily. Even to-day many firms (especially breweries) prefer to avail themselves of this source, and the quantity now so raised is greater than half a century ago. Probably many more than a hundred of such wells are still in use. There seems to be little doubt that the water in the wells has come eventually from the rivers, the New Red Sandstone acting as an admirable filter. At least one of these wells, when sunk to a depth of 460 feet, yielded water so salt as to be useless for dyeing purposes, a circumstance which may merely prove the existence beneath the city of pockets of rock-salt such as are common to the formation.

THE LOCAL RIVER SYSTEM.

We shall see later that the network of streams descending from the hills which lie to the north and east (with their tributaries) had another influence, in that they fixed boundaries, which have persisted for many centuries. This seems to be the proper place to enumerate these streams. The great parish of Manchester, covering some sixty square miles, had its boundaries largely determined by the three main rivers of the district, the Mersey, the Irwell, and the Tame. The Irwell, which has also served as the permanent dividing line between Manchester and Salford, receives on its left bank three tributaries, the Irk, the Medlock, and the Cornbrook. These streams are now largely hidden from view, and as we descend the slight declivities at Pinmill Brow, at London Road, past Oxford Road Station, and elsewhere, we seldom realise that we are dropping into what was once a green river valley. The Irk, on its left bank, receives Moston brook at Collyhurst, and further north, Grize Brook forms with it the boundary of Blackley. The Medlock, again, receives on its right bank two small tributaries, which are still commemorated by modern street-names, viz., the Tib, whose course is yet indicated by the line of Tib Street and Tib Lane, and Shooter's Brook, which gave its name to Upper Brook Street. Further south, a long thin stream, rising in Audenshaw, straggles lazily

across the map; as it passes through Gorton, to which it has given its name, it is known as the Gore Brook, but before it discharges its waters into the River Mersey, having traversed Gorton, Birch, Rusholme, Platt and Chorlton, it has taken the name of Chorlton Brook. This, again, receives on its left bank Fallowfield Brook, Cringle Brook (or Ley Brook), and Shaw Brook. Many of these serve as boundary lines.

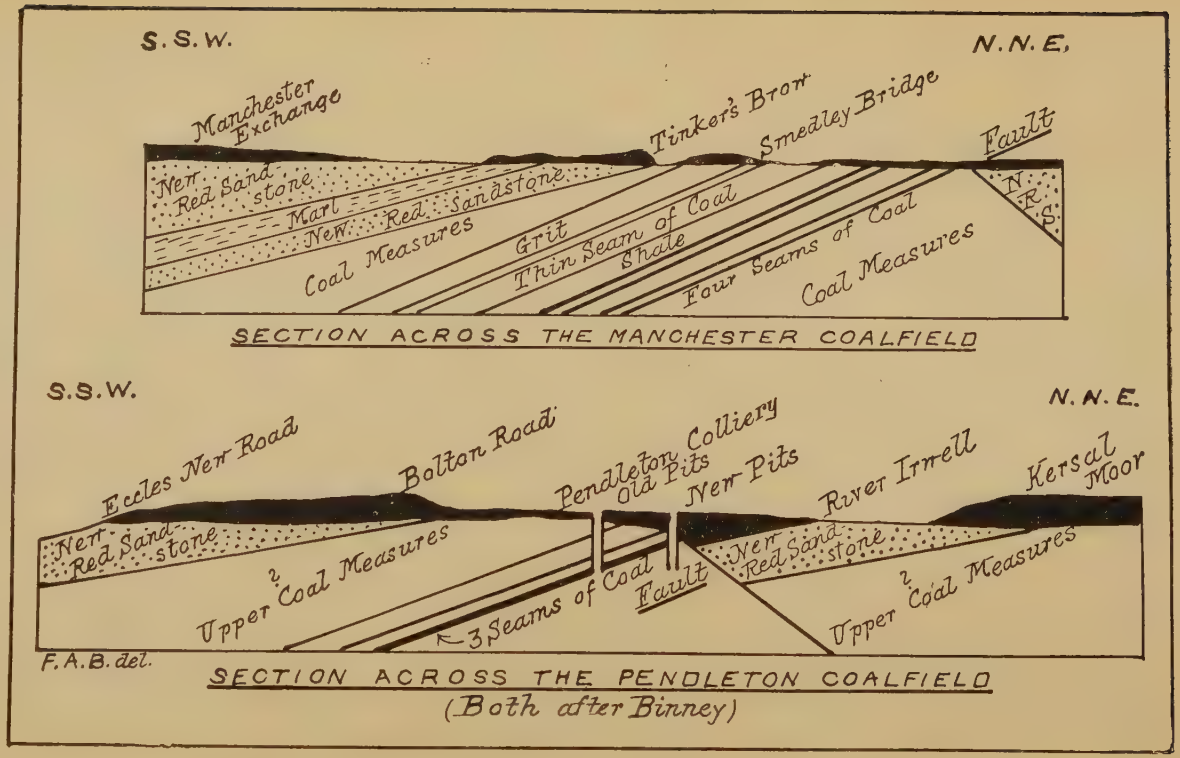
The periodical flooding of these streams (now less frequent perhaps owing to the construction of reservoirs on their upper reaches) is duly chronicled in the old records. Apparently the most disastrous flood occurred on July the 13th, 1872. On two days the rain of an ordinary month fell. The Irwell was several yards above its normal level, and portions of Peel Park (where an obelisk records that six years earlier the water had stood to a depth of $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet) were again flooded. The greatest damage, however, was done along the course of the Medlock, which rose twelve feet. Several bridges were washed away, the wall of the cemetery at Phillip's Park was broken down, and the contents of scores of graves were carried away by the stream. In Ancoats the water rose to the bedrooms of the dwelling-houses, and the inmates were rescued on rafts. One of these floods, it will be remembered, supplies material for the opening chapters of "The Manchester Man."

GEOLOGICAL SECTIONS.

The geological sections which were once to be seen along the banks of these rivers are now for the most part obscured by buildings; the New Red Sandstone, however, is still well exposed in places, as *e.g.*, at Castlefield, opposite the Cathedral, and at Broughton, where the river-cliff that overhangs the Irwell exhibits one of the finest natural sections of that rock in the whole district. These Red Sandstone rocks, it should be remembered, tell of a time when a great part of Cheshire and South Lancashire was covered to a considerable depth by blown sand.

GEOLOGICAL FAULTS.

The tilt of the rocks to the south and west, amounting sometimes to as much as 30° (the result of the great uplift of



Geological Sections across the Coalfields of Manchester and Salford.
(The first is taken along the valley of the Irk; the second across the valley of the Irwell.)

the Pennine arch, which sundered the Lancashire coalfield from that of Yorkshire), is primarily responsible for the arrangement of the outcrop of the coal-bearing rocks around Manchester. This outcrop has been largely modified, however, by the extraordinary way in which the rocks are fractured by faults; so prevalent are they, indeed, that the district is considered by geologists to be specially instructive in the mechanism of faulting. To this broken condition of the strata, and perhaps in part to local mining, may probably be attributed the rock-slips which occasionally cause slight earthquakes in the Manchester district. A glance at the geological map will show that these faults run in the main from N.W. to S.E., and that several of them are responsible for bringing to the surface the lozenge-shaped area of carboniferous rocks known as the Manchester coalfield.

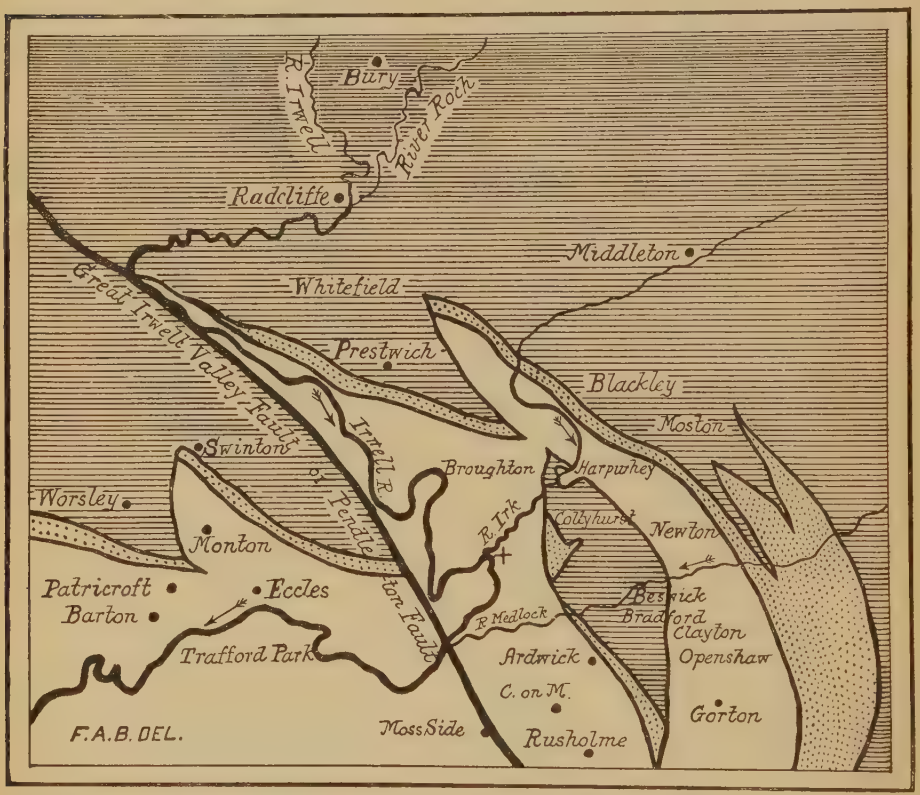
THE MANCHESTER COALFIELD.

This curious little isolated tract of the Upper Coal measures, which stands out like an island, surrounded on all sides by rocks of Permian and Triassic age, is a little over four miles long, and covers about four square miles. The area has long been covered with buildings, but it is easy, with the aid of a geological map, to trace its exact boundaries among the modern streets. Two points are noteworthy in connection with these rocks. In the first place they are the highest beds of the coal-measures known in any part of Lancashire; in the second place, the Limestones of the Upper Carboniferous strata are more strongly developed here than in any other part of Britain.

Four-foot and three-foot seams of the Upper Coal measures of this field have been worked at Bradford and Clayton at a depth of about a hundred yards; the Middle Coal-measures below are now being worked at a depth of about a thousand yards.

The extraordinary way in which the rocks of the whole district are faulted has led to a reasonable hope that the coal supplies of the immediate neighbourhood of Manchester are by no means exhausted. Some years ago, by a curious accident, the proximity of the Coal-measures to the surface

was proved in an unexpected quarter. When the Victoria Baths in High Street were planned, the Corporation Baths Committee decided to obtain the necessary water from wells sunk in the New Red Sandstone of the site. To their surprise they came upon the Coal-measures at a depth of about fifty feet from the surface. They were no less surprised to find that these Coal-measures yielded the supply of water they needed.



Rough Geological Map of the Manchester District: shewing (1) the great Irwell Valley Fault; (2) its diversion of the River Irwell; (3) the lozenge-shaped Manchester Coalfield; (4) the numerous faults.

(Horizontal shading = Coal measures; dotted shading = Permian rocks; Triassic rocks are left white.)

THE IRWELL VALLEY FAULT.

We have spoken so far of the Manchester Coalfield. Almost parallel with the faults which have brought this to the surface runs the great Irwell valley fault (known also as the Pendleton fault) which crosses a great part of South Lancashire, and has a down-throw to the east of 3,000 feet, whence it has also been termed "the thousand yards fault." It is this great fracture which, as the map will show, has considerably modified the course of the Irwell; indeed, the statement has been ventured on good authority, that "it is the great Irwell valley fault that has *made* Manchester." It has also brought the Coal-measures to the surface at Pendleton. A curious illustration of the enormous pressure to which these coal-bearing rocks have been subjected is afforded by the lozenge-shaped masses into which fragments of coal have been squeezed; these are known to the Pendleton miners as "shuttles."

* * * * *

Reference has just been made to the influence which the Pendleton fault has had on the direction of the rivers, and hence on the importance of the site of Manchester. This site lies, really, at the point where a number of valleys converge; hence it has resulted that it has become a centre for the traffic of the district. The situation of most of the great cotton towns that surround it was determined by the fact that at the time they sprang into being it was necessary to plant factories where there was an abundant supply of water with a good fall. Oldham forms a curious exception to this rule.

FEATURES OF THE CITY DETERMINED BY THE LOCAL GEOLOGY.

Geological considerations, lastly, are responsible for the main features of the modern city. Thus North Manchester (between Irk and Irwell) and Pendleton are, in the main, great mounds of glacial sand and gravel, the old surface being deeply buried. The drift at Kersal Moor has been estimated to be 200 feet thick; the boring on the east side of the lake at Heaton Park showed 106 feet of sand. Hence these districts

lie relatively high and dry, and have become mainly residential. East Manchester, again, which consists of the Bradford and Ashton coalfields, with a Triassic area between them, has become a great industrial area. Lastly, South and South-West Manchester, lying low and flat, with the drift largely washed over by rivers, so as to form loam, have tended to remain agricultural, except along the highways, and in places where recent industrial developments have created a necessity for artisan dwellings.

* * * * *

It would be easy to draw a fanciful picture of the district round Manchester two millenniums ago, when much of the country was covered with forest, and the rivers, not yet confined to their proper channels, periodically flooded great tracts of land, enlarging the morasses already formed by the retreat of the ice-sheet; while on the high moors the excessive rainfall was assisting in the creation of the peat-bogs we find there to-day. It will be better to follow patiently the scanty historical records, which afford abundant evidence of the once wild and barren character of a district which is now one of the most thickly populated in the Empire.

* * * * *

We have seen that to the natural features of their site Manchester and Salford owe (1) a local coal-supply which is of value for their manufactures; (2) a water-supply that has been available for domestic use as well as for commercial purposes; (3) a fairly level surface with no steep gradients which is favourable for the rapid and easy transport of goods; (4) an atmosphere whose humidity is conducive to the success of the staple industry; (5) a central position which makes them a convenient collecting-ground for the manufactures of the district; (6) a River system which has enabled them to find an outlet to the sea.

Why then, it may be asked, with all these natural advantages, was the main expansion of the community delayed till near the end of the eighteenth century? We shall of course see, as we proceed, that this was due to the enormous impetus

given to its trade at the time of the Industrial Revolution by the introduction of steam power, by a succession of epoch-making inventions, by the improvement of internal communication, through the construction of canals and railways (both of which had their origin here), by proximity to the port of Liverpool, and later, by the creation of the great inland port of Manchester and Salford.

CHAPTER II.

The Beginnings of Manchester.

The River Irwell takes its rise in some deep springs on the bleak uplands some two miles north of Bacup. Tumbling merrily down the deep channel it has carved for itself through the wild moorlands of the Forest of Rossendale,—threading its way, now between, now beneath, the mills and dwellings that have sprung up all along its course,—it is at length brought up and diverted by the great Irwell Valley fault; and approaching Manchester with a tortuous course in a south-easterly direction, it makes there a sudden turn westwards. Near the bend it receives, on its left bank, two small tributaries. It was at the confluence of these rivulets with the main stream that Manchester had its beginning. On a bluff of Red Sandstone rising steeply from a loop of the Medlock, the Romans established a fort which they occupied for centuries; on a somewhat similar rising-ground, where the Irk joins the Irwell, the town had its birth.

A visitor, who wished to read the story of the city's infancy, could not do better than place himself in succession at these two points. If we stand on the Bridgewater Viaduct, where Deansgate merges itself in Chester Road, and look across the little River Medlock which runs below, we have before us what remains of the Knoll of Sandstone on which the Romans (selecting, as usual, a site in the angle between two streams), erected their fort. For the foundation of the Roman settlement a limiting date can be assigned; but if we now pass along Deansgate to the Exchange approach, (a distance which Leland estimated about 1540 as "ii flyte shottes"), and turn towards the Cathedral, we shall be looking at a site concerning which it is true that we have no written record till the eleventh century, but whose occupation was certainly much earlier, and the story of that earlier occupation is lost.

Much effort has been expended upon an attempt to prove

that this bold bluff of sandstone, which is still a prominent feature in the angle between the Irk and the Irwell, was the site of a prehistoric settlement. The theory has been constructed mainly on the assumption that the channel of a stream which certainly flowed along the curve of what is now the street called Hanging Ditch, and fell into the Irwell near the site of the present Victoria Bridge, was used by early British settlers as a defence for their camp; and that this camp, or village, occupied the site now covered by the Cathedral and Chetham's Hospital. Some have even professed to see an inner fosse in the curve of Long Millgate. As there is now no possibility of deciding whether the stream-bed known as Hanging Ditch was natural or artificial (though there seems to be every reason for supposing it was the former), this point is immaterial to the argument, which must therefore rest entirely upon the evidence of occupation afforded by relics yielded by the site. The sum total of these seems to consist of a single bronze dagger, said to have been found in the Ditch under the Hanging Bridge. This is only one of a number of prehistoric relics (which will be enumerated presently) scattered promiscuously over the whole Manchester district, and lying as far apart as Greenheys and Kersal Moor. Obviously it would be unreasonable to base any speculations upon such slender evidence. The most that we can safely say is that there does not appear to be any evidence against the theory.

There is even less justification for the suggestion, confidently advanced by some antiquaries, and adopted by the Ordnance Survey of 1849, that a British settlement preceded the Roman fort at Castlefield, where the Medlock joins the Irwell. No shred of positive evidence for this is forthcoming; as negative evidence it may be stated that when, in 1906-7, several months were spent in excavating with scrupulous care an area of about a thousand square yards in the north-western corner of the Roman fort, although hundreds of relics of the Roman period were found, no trace of prehistoric occupation was detected.

Yet there are, in the Manchester district, as we have said, traces of pre-Roman occupation which, though scanty and

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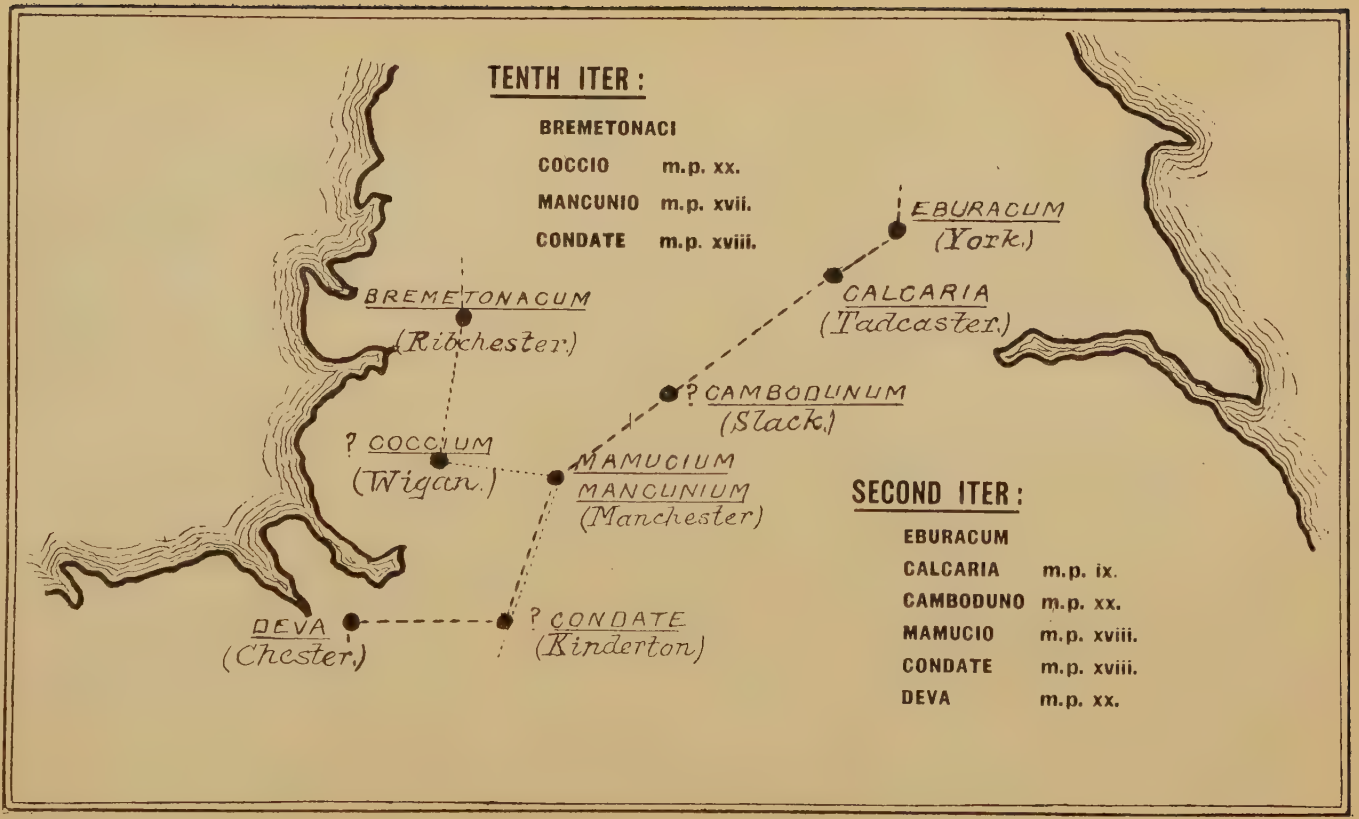


F.A.B. del.] [*Block lent by the Old Manchester Committee.*

Portions of the Second and Tenth Itinera of Antonine.

scattered, cannot be regarded as negligible. Foremost among these is the name of the place itself. In the second Iter of the Itinerary of Antonine, (a Road-book giving the stations and distances along the principal roads of the Roman Empire, probably published not later than the beginning of the third century, A.D.), the name of the Roman fort appears as *Mamucium*, a station on the road from Chester to York. The tenth Iter of Antonine mentions the Manchester fort again, this time as a station on the road to Ribchester, and in this latter case the name is spelt *Mancunium*. In the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, under the date 923, the name has become *Mameceaster*, and it remained so with slight variations down to the middle of the fifteenth century, when it assumed its more modern form. We may postpone further discussion of this subject in the hope that an inscription may yet reveal the spelling of the name in Roman times. However that may be, it is generally assumed that the first syllable of the names *Mamucium* and *Mancunium* (the former seems likely to be the more correct), as well as the names of the rivers with which we are immediately concerned, were of pre-Roman origin.

The prehistoric relics of the district are scattered and meagre. Lancashire has so far yielded no traces whatsoever of palæolithic man, the earliest inhabitant of our island. Slight remains of the later stone and bronze ages, in the form of flint chippings, perforated stone implements, axe-heads of

[*Block lent by L. and C. Antiq. Soc.*

Cinerary Urn (? late British) found at Red Bank in 1850.

stone or bronze, and burial urns, have been found scattered over the district—at Redbank, in Corporation Street, at Cheetham, Cheetwood, Clifton, Broughton, Greenheys, and Harpurhey, and on Kersal Moor. The "dug-out" canoes found at various times near the bed of the Irwell are perhaps of too uncertain date to serve as evidence. In no case does it seem possible to point to a particular site as a definite prehistoric settlement, and there is therefore nothing to justify a conjectural sketch of the Manchester district in pre-Roman times. From this vague and uncertain material we turn with some confidence to the more tangible evidence of the Roman occupation.

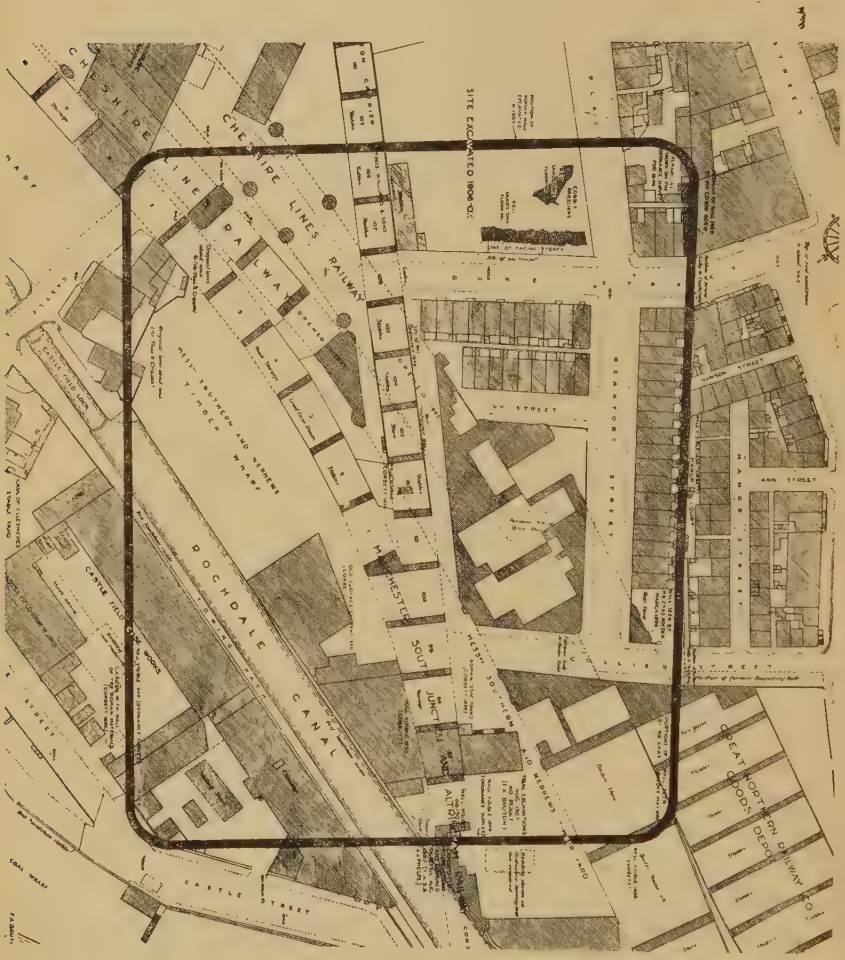
CHAPTER III.

Three Centuries of Roman Occupation.

(*a*) POSITION OF THE ROMAN FORT.

What we actually know about the Roman occupation of Manchester may be told in a few words. There is evidence, derived mainly from pottery and coins, and practically indisputable, that the Romans were here in the first century; we cannot, however, locate their earliest settlement with certainty. The fort, of whose walls fragments still remain *in situ*, seems to have been built (probably on the site of the earlier settlement) in the second century, A.D., by detachments of the first cohort of Frisians, an auxiliary regiment of the famous Twentieth Legion. This Legion took up its quarters at Chester not long after 50 A.D., and remained in garrison there for several centuries. A portion of the eastern rampart of the fort, still standing several feet above the ground, may be seen in the timber yard of Messrs. Southern and Darwent, Collier Street, under the 95th arch of the railway viaduct; a strip of the western rampart about forty feet long was exposed in 1907 in the yard of Messrs. Beattie & Co., Duke Street; portions of the northern and southern ramparts have been traced at intervals from 1850 down to the present time; and so late as the end of the eighteenth century the walls stood in places as much as ten feet high. It has been possible, therefore, to plot the outline of the fort accurately upon a map of the modern streets, and to show from successive plans of the district: (1) that the northern rampart, as recently at any rate as 1800, was part of the boundary between two contiguous estates; (2) that the paved alley running from Collier Street to Duke Street, past Manor Court, is actually laid upon the foundations of this northern rampart; (3) that several modern streets run parallel to, if they do not actually coincide with, the original streets of the Roman fort, one of which was laid bare in 1907. This coincidence of modern streets with those of Roman times

(in direction, at any rate) is of course not peculiar to Manchester; the same feature may be observed, *e.g.*, at Chester. It should be explained, however, that the streets in the immediate neighbourhood of the Roman fort just referred to



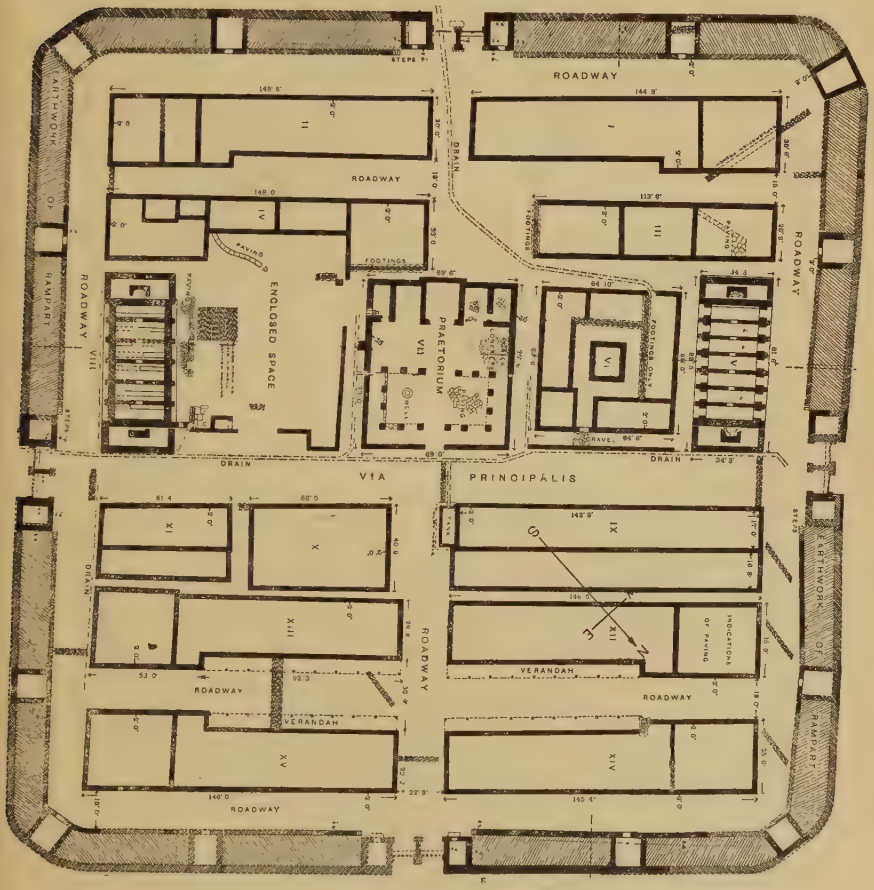
[*Block lent by the Old Manchester Committee.*

Plan (prepared by Mr. John Swarbrick) shewing the outline of the Roman Fort at Manchester laid upon a map of the modern city. (Note how the modern streets run parallel to the ramparts of the fort.)

are by no means the oldest streets of Manchester. These, as we shall see later, must be sought in the vicinity of the Cathedral.

(*b*) INSCRIPTIONS.

We have given the name of the Roman regiment (the first cohort of Frisians) that built parts at any rate of the stone rampart of the fort; the same regiment appears at the neigh-



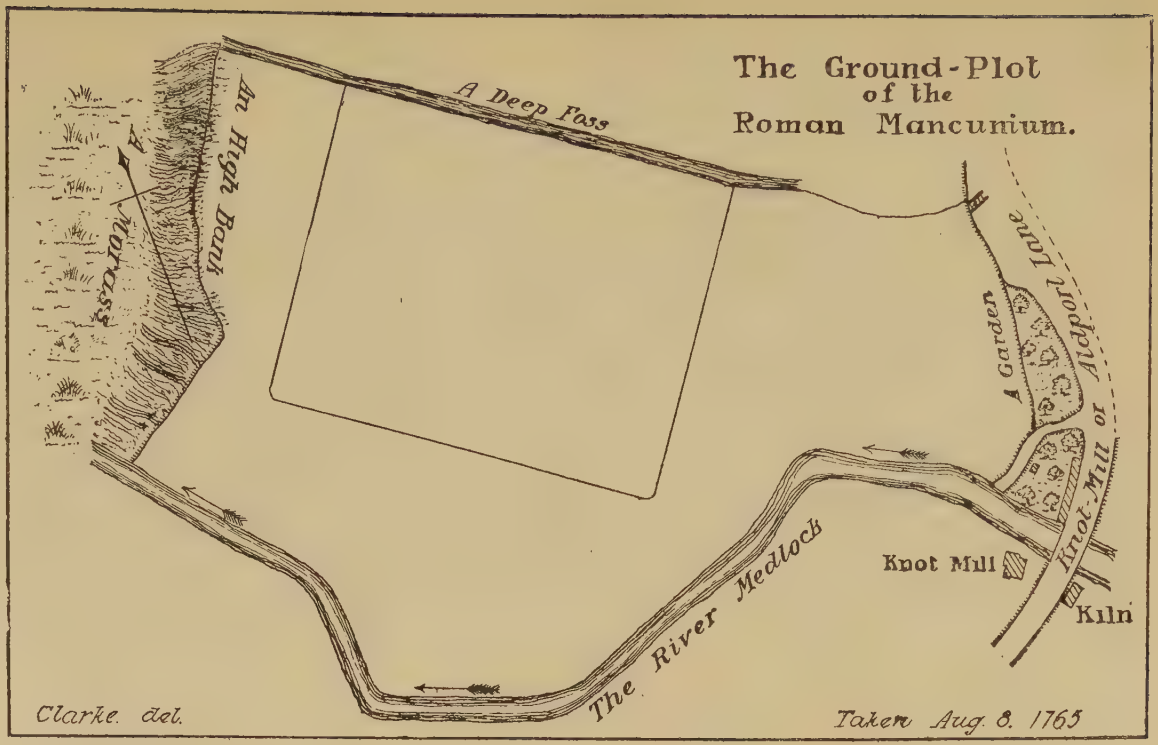
[*Block lent by the Old Manchester Committee.*

Plan of the Roman Fort at Gellygaer; we may assume that the plan of the Manchester Fort was similar.

bouring fort at Melandra, near Glossop. It is also possible (thanks to inscriptions) to name four of the officers who superintended the work—the centurions Masavo, Varus, Candidus, and Quintianus. Tiles, bearing the stamp of the Twentieth Legion, and of a regiment which seems to be the third cohort of Bracaraugustani (recruited from the town which is now Braga in Portugal) have also been found, but the occurrence of these tile-stamps is not absolute proof of occupation by the troops indicated. We have two other inscriptions which tell us that at some period two Roman officers set up altars to commemorate events of which we shall probably never know the details. One of these officers belonged to a "vexillation" (or battalion) of the Raeti and Norici, troops from the Upper Danube; the other officer, whose altar is dedicated to Fortune the Preserver (possibly in commemoration of some providential escape) was Lucius Senecianius Martius, a centurion of the Sixth Legion, which went into garrison at York in the year 120 A.D.

(*c*) DETAILS OF THE FORT.

The fort built by the Frisian troops mentioned above was 175 yards long by 140 broad, thus covering an area of a little over five acres, and belonging to the larger Roman forts in Britain; and it was enclosed by a solid stone rampart at least seven (and probably nine) feet thick. A fort of this size might accommodate a garrison of a thousand troops; the regiment of Frisians mentioned above consisted of infantry. Of the interior of the fort we have no actual trace; but these forts were constructed on so uniform a plan that we are perfectly safe in assuming that the enclosure was rectangular in shape, with rounded corners, at each of which a watch-tower was erected; that each of the four walls was pierced by a gateway near its centre; that the principal street (joining two opposite gates) was flanked on one side by the official buildings, headquarters, granary, and commander's residence, etc.; and that the remainder of the area was occupied mainly by barracks for the garrison, ranged along streets parallel to the ramparts.



From Whittaker's History of Manchester: 1765.] *[Block lent by the Old Manchester Committee.*

The earliest known plan of the Roman Fort at Manchester.

(*d*) RELICS.

The relics found here correspond to those occurring at other forts throughout the Roman Empire. They include many hundreds of coins covering the whole period of the Roman occupation of Britain; fine and coarse pottery which may be dated to several centuries; beads, brooches, bracelets, signet-rings, bronze vessels, keys, harness-fittings, soldiers' decorations, and miscellaneous ornaments; implements of iron and stone; and so forth. Among the stone remains, a carved panel which is certainly Mithraic, seems to afford tangible proof that the men of the garrison paid homage to the sun-god Mithras; this might, however, have been safely conjectured without direct evidence. It is strange that the only other architectural relic of a fort that was occupied for centuries is the capital of a single pillar. The stone of these forts, however, was generally pilfered for the construction of modern buildings; and we have the testimony of Leland in the sixteenth century that "the stones of the ruins of the castle were translated towards making of bridges for the town."

* * * * *

(*e*) A WALK ROUND THE ROMAN FORT TO-DAY.

It is a curious fact that just where the railways of Manchester are most tangled they are constructed right across the site of the Roman fort that gave its name to the city. Even now nine lines of rails and one waterway run diagonally over the area of the *castellum*, and the only portion till recently unoccupied, and now partly built over, was actually scheduled to the Great Northern Railway Company a few years ago.

For those who wish to trace the outlines of the Roman fort among the streets and yards of the modern city the following itinerary may be recommended. Turn along Castle Street (which opens out of Deansgate immediately opposite to Knott Mill Station), and follow its windings till it crosses the Rochdale Canal and leads into the open space still known as Castlefield. If the pedestrian will cross this area, and halt for a moment at the junction of the Railway Arches numbered 7 and 8, he will probably be standing on the site of the south-western angle of the fort, though much lower than the original

Block lent by the Old Manchester Committee.]

Capital of Roman Pillar.

(The only architectural relic we possess of Roman Manchester.)

MARYLEBONE PUBLIC LIBRARIES

MARYLEBONE PUBLIC LIBRARIES

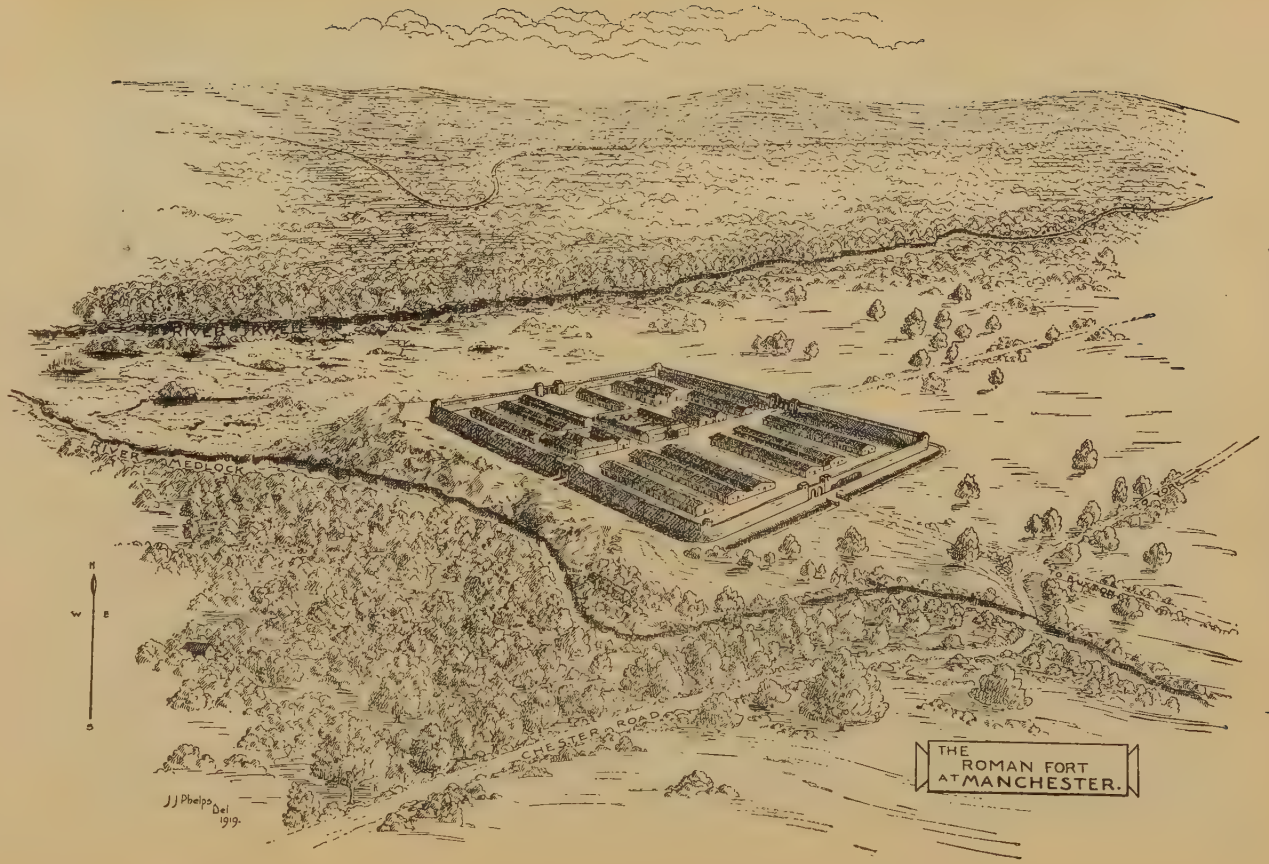
Photo by R. H. Fletcher.] [*Block lent by Old Manchester Committee.*

Part of the Rampart of Roman Manchester still standing.

level. The southern wall (part of which was visible in 1850) probably ran from this point in a line crossing the canal some forty or fifty feet beyond the little lock, and by crossing the bridge again, and following the tow-path for a short distance, it must be possible to approach very near to the position of the southern gate. If the gate was central, it would be just at the corner of the Castlefield case-works. The Rochdale Canal here cuts right through the rock on which the fort was built, exposing one of the finest sections of the New Red Sandstone to be seen in Manchester. On the opposite side of the canal, just where the arch of the iron bridge that spans the water commences, a brick wall just hides from our view a strip of the eastern rampart, some twenty feet long, which still stands several feet above ground under the railway arch numbered 95.

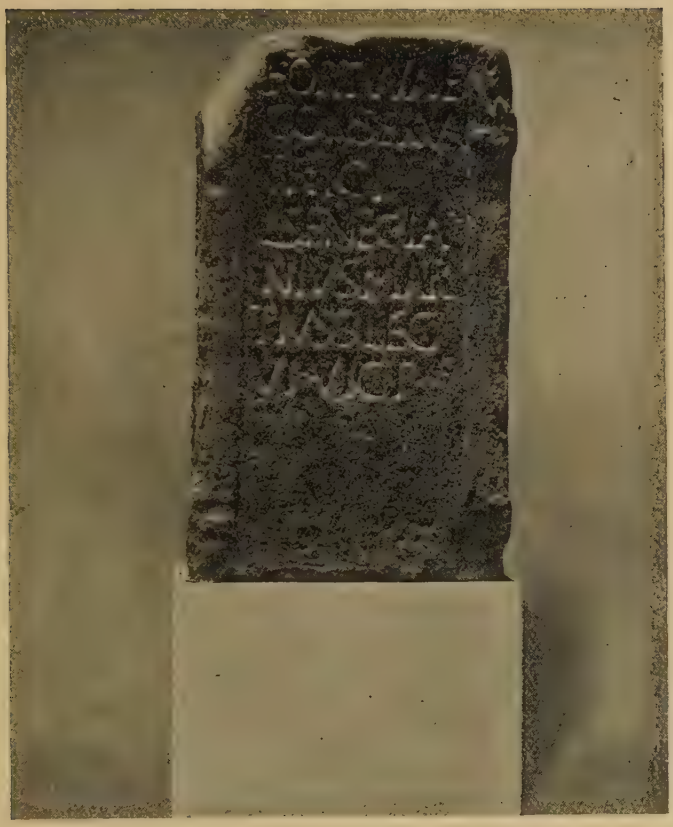
This fragment, and the northern and western walls of the *castellum* are best approached by turning out of Deansgate along Bridgewater Street and passing down Collier Street to the point where it is crossed by the Great Northern viaduct. If we stand just opposite to the coal-shed on our right, we shall be immediately over the foundations of the northern rampart, which may be followed along the narrow paved passage past Manor Court, into Duke Street. The north-western corner probably lies in the small open yard immediately to the north of Duke Place. In the big yard to the south of Duke Place a strip of the western rampart forty feet long was exposed in 1907; it lay on a line running northwards from the pier between the railway arches numbered 108 and 109.

A large part of the interior of the fort is now occupied by the timber-yard of Messrs. Southern and Darwent, whose lurries are perhaps loaded on the very spot once sacred to the worship of the Emperor; in this same yard the surviving piece of the eastern rampart, now under cover, may be seen. The baths, heated by hypocausts, an almost invariable adjunct to these Roman forts, were not wanting at Manchester. At the end of the eighteenth century they could still be traced on the river bank, immediately below the fort. They have now disappeared.



Drawn by J. J. Phelps.]

Conjectural Restoration of the Roman Fort at Manchester.



Block lent by Messrs. G. Falkner and Sons.]

Altar dedicated to Fortune the Preserver. Found in Manchester in 1612.

(Now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.)

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Photo by J. J. Phelps.] [*Block lent by Old Manchester Committee.*

Roman Altar found in Manchester in 1831.
(Now in the Ellesmere Collection.)

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(*f*) LIFE IN THE ROMAN FORT.

What of the daily life in the Roman fort? Actual details of the Manchester fort in particular we do not possess. But we have sufficient information from inscriptions and relics found on other sites in Brigantian territory and elsewhere to enable us to fill in some outlines at least.

Our pictures of Roman family life in Britain are derived mainly from memorial stones. The artist of the Town Hall frescoes has included in his picture of the building of the Roman fort at Manchester the wife and child of the officer in charge. The idea is not far-fetched. A well-known inscription found at the neighbouring fort at Ribchester is a memorial erected by a Roman officer there which speaks in most endearing terms of his young wife, her mother, and his little boy of six years old, all of whom he has lost. We have not yet discovered—though we may yet do so—the memorial stones of the Manchester garrison. When they come to light they will no doubt tell, as hundreds of such records found in Britain do, of love, and sorrow, and bereavement, and longing, showing that those who held our land eighteen centuries ago were men of like passions with ourselves.

A few years ago an inscription was found in Northern Africa which commemorated a Roman centurion who served at no less than three Roman fortresses in Britain, and afterwards in Asia and in Africa. After forty-five years' service in five different Legions he died in Africa at the age of seventy. His tombstone was set up by his wife Bodicca and her two sons. Now Bodicca (formerly mis-spelt Boadicea) is a British name, and still survives in the name Buddug, borne by Welsh girls to-day. We may therefore surmise that this man married a British wife, and that she afterwards followed him to Africa. These are by no means solitary examples, and with many well-authenticated cases like these in our minds we may legitimately picture similar details of the Roman garrison at Manchester. For it is to be noted that we have little to suggest that Manchester was anything but a military station for the greater part of the Roman occupation of Britain.

Other records from our district tell of the erection of buildings by the garrisons (baths, for example); details of the

daily discipline; and—turning to a lighter vein—there is one inscription, found in Brigantian territory, which was set up by a Roman cavalry officer, to commemorate his capture of an exceptionally fine wild boar, which had hitherto baffled all pursuers.

We do not really need, however, special records for Roman Manchester. It has been well said that the national fibre of the Romans was so tough, and its tone and sentiment so conservative, under all external influences, that if a man knows one period of Roman social history, he knows a great deal of it, from Romulus to Honorius. We may therefore safely apply to Roman Manchester much of the detail that we find, for example, in Polybius, as to the daily routine of the garrison; and much of the social life we may confidently reconstruct from vivid details gathered from inscriptions found elsewhere in Britain, as well as in other parts of the Empire.

(*g*) CONTEMPORARY HISTORY.

Such are the bare details we possess as to the Roman fort at Manchester, portions of whose walls have been standing for nearly 2,000 years. But we ought not to leave the subject without an attempt to fit this isolated military station into its proper place in the scheme by which this island was for centuries held as a province by the world-power of Rome.

We have nothing but the evidence of pottery to guide us in determining the date of the first arrival of Roman troops at Manchester, and perhaps the utmost we can say is that this occurred in the last quarter of the first century A.D. What was the general trend of events at this period, so far as we can piece them together from the vague narrative of Tacitus? Manchester lay within the territory of the spirited tribe designated by Roman writers the "blue-shielded Brigantes," whose fierce queen Cartimandua figures so prominently in the annals of the Roman historian. Even if the conjectural interpretation of their name as "the freemen" be incorrect (and it is backed by as high an authority as Professor Rhys) they at least justified their claim to such a title by their repeated risings against the Roman invader, continued for nearly a century. Their territory comprised all that is now included

Photo by F. W. Parrott.] [*Block lent by Old Manchester Committee.*

Centurial Stone of the First Cohort of Frisians (found at Melandra).
(The same cohort built part of the rampart of Roman Manchester.)

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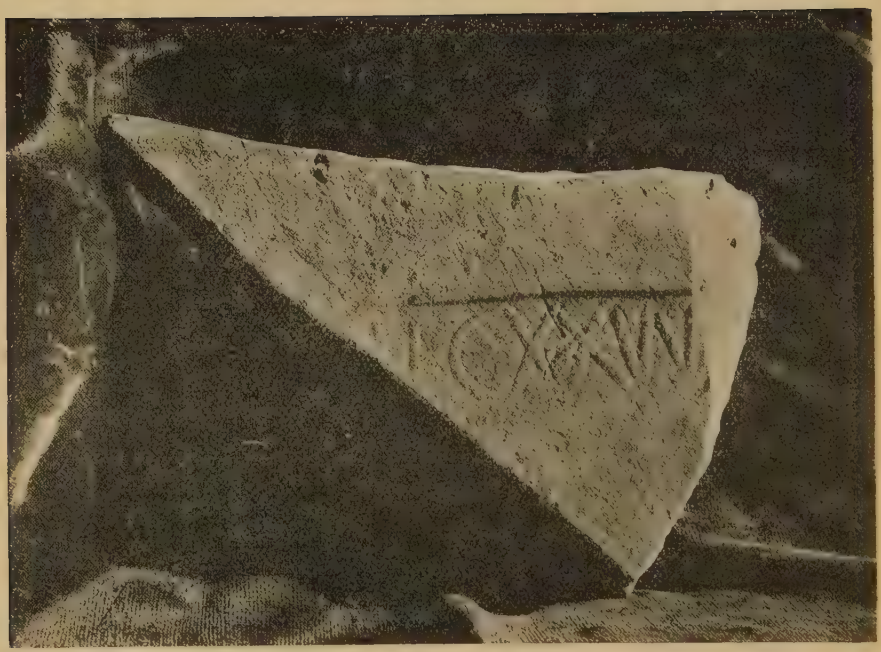

Photo by J. J. Phelps.] [*Block lent by Old Manchester Committee.*

Fragment of Tile bearing Stamp of 20th Legion.
(From the Ellesmere Collection.)

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in Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cumberland, Westmorland, and Durham, and possibly part of Derbyshire and Dumfriesshire. It was about the year 71 A.D. that Petilius Cerealis made an attack on the Brigantes which, according to Tacitus, "embraced a large part of their territory." It was partly with a view to holding this powerful tribe in check that about the year 75 the Ninth Legion was moved from Lincoln to York; the Twentieth Legion had been stationed at Chester soon after the year 50 A.D. Now Manchester lay on the direct route joining these two fortresses of York and Chester. Agricola, who had served under Cerealis against the Brigantes, became Governor of the province in the year 77 or 78, and in the course of the next six years had the Brigantes so well in hand that he was able to advance through their territory into Scotland. Hopelessly vague as the narrative of Tacitus is, there are yet in it graphic touches which we should not lose sight of in our effort to picture these far-off times.

The Roman soldier, *e.g.*, complained that Britain was a land of continual and heavy rain; Agricola, we are told, insisted on personally exploring the estuaries and forests, and himself choosing the sites for the forts, so that we may reasonably assume that he was responsible for the position of a number of the forts in Brigantian territory, but we are not yet justified in identifying him with any individual station, though the architect of the Manchester Town Hall saw fit to place his statue over the central gable; further, the lament of the natives, as voiced by Tacitus, is to the effect that their very hands and bodies were worn out in levelling the woods and bridging the marshes. All these details are pertinent to the particular case we are considering. It is practically certain (the evidence from pottery is as conclusive as such evidence can be, and it is fully confirmed by the coins) that not only the fort at Manchester, but also the neighbouring forts at Melandra and Castleshaw, were founded during these early operations against the Brigantes. Two things were necessary for the success of these operations, from the Roman Strategists' point of view, viz., adequate communications and well-placed forts to secure them. Now two of these main lines of communication crossed at Manchester—the road connecting

Chester with York, itself part of one of the main routes from London to the north; and the more direct route to the north by Wigan or Ribchester. There can be little doubt that it was to its position at the crossing of these two roads that Manchester owed whatever importance it possessed in the first four centuries of our era. For the district in which Manchester

Map of the principal Roman Stations in Brigantian Territory, etc. (This map, which does not pretend to final accuracy, has been drawn to shew that the Roman Fort at Manchester was only one of many scattered over Northern Britain.)

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Samian Bowl found in Manchester during the Excavations of 1906

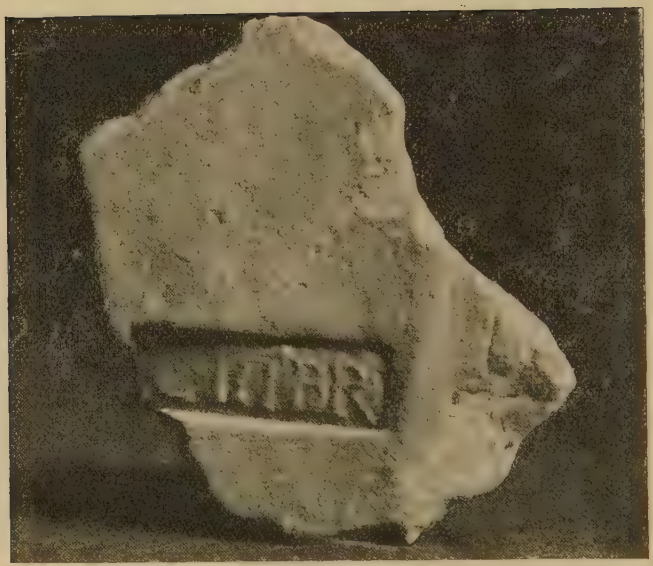

Photo by J. J. Phelps.] [*Block lent by Old Manchester Committee*

Fragment of Tile bearing the Stamp C III BR.
(Found in Manchester in 1907.)

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lay was then nothing more than an outlying, unimportant part of an outlying Roman province. What we call Lancashire, now one of the most populous manufacturing and mineral-producing centres in the world, was in Roman times nothing more than an alternative route to the north. In the whole area the Romans had merely five military stations, important simply as holding their line of communications. There is not a trace in this district of the spacious country houses and the busy town life so common in the south. The occupation would appear to have been purely military.

The fort at Manchester was only one of many scores of forts in Britain—of many hundreds scattered over the Roman Empire—all, more or less, of the same pattern. In the Brigantian territory alone it is possible to count at least fifty of these blockhouses, without including those on the Wall of Hadrian; and quite a dozen of these can be proved to have been occupied in the first century. Such forts were threaded like beads on the Roman roads, they were grouped for various purposes in different parts of our island—to command strategic points, to guard particular coasts, to hold rebellious tribes, and so on.

Some graphic touches in Tacitus seem to promise to give a tinge of romance to the early years of the Manchester fort, but the glamour soon dies away, and we have to confess that we cannot even tell its name, we certainly cannot write its history. Inscriptions, however—perhaps now lying buried in the foundations of bridges—may yet come to light and give us welcome information on both subjects.

Situated as Manchester was, at the crossing of two main routes to the north, and on the main road between two of the three Roman fortresses in Britain, those, viz., at Chester and York, we can understand that the garrison would feel the throb of great events. The repeated risings of the Brigantes in the first and second centuries would keep them in a state of constant tension. The building of the Wall of Hadrian and the construction of the Wall of Pius, events separated by little more than twenty years, must both have been signalised by the passing of large drafts of legionary and auxiliary troops through Manchester to the north. On two occasions

the news was flashed over the Roman Empire that the Emperor had died at York. Manchester must have been one of the first places to receive the tidings.

(*h*) MANCHESTER PASSES OUT OF THE MILITARY ZONE.

The coins found here cover, as we have said, practically the whole period of the Roman occupation of Britain. We lose sight of Manchester, however, before the end of this period is reached. In the latest list we have of the Roman forts in Britain, known as the *Notitia*, which is dated to the late fourth or early fifth century, the name of our fort does not appear. The area of the broad military frontier of the north had by that time shrunk. It lay, roughly, between Hadrian's wall and a line drawn, let us say, from Doncaster to Ribchester. Manchester, situated to the south of this line, had passed out of the military zone.

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Mithraic Stone found in Hulme in 1821.

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Photo by F. W. Parrott.] [*Block lent by Old Manchester Committee.*

Roman Phalera or Soldier's Breast Ornament.
(From the Ellesmere Collection.)

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CHAPTER IV.

Mameceaster in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and in Domesday.

The picture we obtain of Manchester during the Roman period is sufficiently dim, but when this period ends, the curtain falls completely for more than five hundred years. When it rises again for one moment at the beginning of the tenth century, the district is found to be included within the boundaries of the much-vexed, Dane-ridden, English Kingdom of Northumbria. We have no faintest hint as to what has happened in the interval. We may assume that by the time the Roman garrison was withdrawn, towards the end of the fifth century, there had grown up round or near the walls of a fort situated, as this one was, on two important highways, a considerable settlement; such settlements were common in the vicinity of Roman forts in this and other countries. This is, however, pure conjecture, though the relics found by the late Mr. Roeder outside the fort area would appear to lend colour to the suggestion. The fresco in the Manchester Town Hall which pictures this period assumes that, like the rest of Northumbria, the district had been overrun by Danish freebooters; and we have good authority for suspecting Danish influence in such names as Hulme, and in the second syllable of Deansgate. There is no other direct proof of Danish occupation. Suddenly a gleam of light is flashed from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, where we read that in the year 923 King Edward the Elder, son of Alfred the Great, having after harvest occupied and manned Thelwall (a place near Warrington) "commanded another force, also of Mercians, the while he sat there, to take possession of Mameceaster in Northumbria, and repair and man it."

Now where exactly was this Mameceaster? Does the Chronicle refer to the Roman fort itself, or had a settlement sprung up meanwhile a mile further up the river, near its

junction with the Irk? We cannot tell. The reasonable conjecture would seem to be that the reference was to the fort left by the Romans. At what period then did the site now occupied by the Cathedral become the nucleus round which the real Manchester grew? Once more we cannot tell. Neither does the Chronicle give any hint as to whether Edward wished to secure Mameceaster merely for strategic reasons, or because it had become a more or less important centre of population, as may easily have been the case. Two points at any rate should be borne in mind. The first is that there does seem to have been some sort of settlement immediately to the east of the Roman fort, to which the name "Allport" or "Old Town" was given, and this name, which appears first in the thirteenth century, still persists. The second point is that by the middle of the eleventh century, at any rate, if not much earlier, the Cathedral site had become the centre of Mameceaster. The settlement at Allport seems to have receded in importance, and by the middle of the seventeenth century, when we obtain our first map of Manchester, it is not included in the town at all. Can we assign any reason for this choice? A possible answer to the question may lie in the next reference to the place that history affords us, and to this we now turn.

After the brief entry in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle of which we have been speaking, the curtain falls again for over a century and a half. Our next glimpse is obtained from a single sentence in Domesday Book. Once more we have no hint as to what has happened meanwhile. But we know something from other sources. Helped by the brilliant exploits of his brave sister, Edward the Elder had annexed Mercia to Wessex, and later, as we have seen, had advanced as far as Manchester in 923. In the very next year Northumbria lay at his feet. The district south of the Ribble was at once annexed to Mercia, and was for many years known as "the land between Ribble and Mersey." For ecclesiastical purposes it was included in the Mercian diocese of Lichfield, and so remained for over six hundred years. Thus Mameceaster, which had hitherto lain within the Kingdom of Northumbria, came, in the year 924, under the dominion of the West Saxon

Photo by J. J. Phelps.] [*Block lent by Old Manchester Committee.*

Bronze Statuette found in Manchester in 1839.

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Photo by W. Ellis.] [*Block lent by L. and C. Antiq. Society.*

The Angel Stone, now preserved in the Manchester Cathedral.
(Supposed to be a relic of the Saxon building.)

Kings. We have no single detail of its history during the period of the West Saxon rule, under the Danish dominion, during the weak reign of Edward the Confessor, nor indeed till twenty years after the Norman Conquest. Then from Domesday Book we learn that during the interval the "Land between Ribble and Mersey" had been, according to Saxon custom, divided into six districts called "Wapentakes" or "Hundreds," and that these again were broken up into estates or manors, which were held by the larger landholders, then known as thegns. The district drained by the River Irwell and its tributaries formed one of the six "hundreds" just mentioned. It took its name from a manor which lay on the right bank of the river, and was known (perhaps from the ford that there crossed the Irwell) as the manor of Salford. The name occurs here for the first time in history, and no explanation of it can be given. After disappearing for over 160 years, Mameceaster flashes into view once more. It is now in the Hundred of Salford, and the only reference to it in Domesday Book runs as follows: "The Church of St. Mary and the Church of St. Michael hold in Mameceaster one ploughland, free from all burdens save Danegeld."

Let it be said once for all that the church of St. Michael here mentioned was at Ashton-under-Lyne. Ashton, as we shall see later, was for some time closely connected with Manchester. What does this brief entry tell us, then, concerning the subject of this chapter? The church of St. Mary is the church that stood, in Saxon times, in all probability, on the site of the present Manchester Cathedral. A single relic of this building, known as the "Angel stone," (almost the only relic of the Saxon period that Manchester can show), is still preserved in the chapter-house. We may probably infer, though this is not easy to prove, that long before the time of Domesday a parish of Manchester had been created, of which this was the mother-church. The building itself may have been constructed largely of wood, but we have no hint as to its date. It is possible that originally the boundaries of this parish of Manchester were co-extensive with those of the Hundred of Salford; of its later boundaries we shall speak in another chapter.

Domesday Book tells us that the endowment of this church consisted of one ploughland. This land lay in what is now Newton Heath. By the beginning of the fourteenth century the endowment included also the plot known as the Parsonage, off Deansgate, as well as the district in South-east Manchester which is yet called Kirkmanshulme, *i.e.*, "Churchman's meadow." These lands are still held by the Manchester Church, and form its present source of income. The Dean and Canons of Manchester are to-day the chief landlords in Newton and in Kirkmanshulme, and the latter district is included in the township of Newton, though it is two miles distant from it.

Presumably Mameceaster itself was at this time part of the Manor of Salford, and apparently what we now know as the Cathedral site had been selected for the erection of the local church. Whether it is permissible to assume that it was the church, and perhaps the neighbouring residence, that formed the nucleus of the settlement by the Irk, or no, it seems clear that as buildings began to cluster round this spot, the interest in the perhaps more ancient site by the Medlock gradually waned.

It is natural that we should enquire: Who were the inhabitants of this Mameceaster? for they were the founders of the Manchester that we know, and from them, perhaps, its people derive their grit and fibre. Were they fresh invaders from over the sea? Had they swept southwards from Northumbria, or wandered northwards from Mercia? Was there even, perchance, a Danish element among them? The only answer possible must come from the place-names and dialect, and the place-names of the Manchester district are extremely interesting. Into this difficult discussion, however, we do not venture here.

Perhaps a few very simple points may be taken from Professor Ekwall's recent work on the subject. He would see British elements in the first syllables of the names Manchester, Cheetham, and Pendleton, and in such river-names as Tame and Irk. He would recognise Danish influence, but not necessarily Danish colonisation, in the name Hulme. In his chapter on the Salford Hundred he states his belief that names

ending in *-tun*, *-ham*, *-burh*, *-wic* (such as Withington Cheetham, Didsbury, Ardwick) mark the earliest Anglian colonies, and are usually found in the level land or the river-valleys. The number ending in *-tun* is "remarkable," and he points out that most of these occur in the parishes of Manchester and Eccles. Finally, he feels confident that South Lancashire had a Mercian population by the year 923, when Edward the Elder invaded it. We will add a single sentence from Professor Tait's well-known work: "There must have been a considerable influx of population from Mercia, for the dialect and place-names of South Lancashire, while preserving many traces of the Northumbrian connection, show Mercian affinities which are absent north of the Ribble."

Let us recapitulate: after the withdrawal of the Roman garrison we have perhaps to imagine Manchester as a settlement gathered near the site of the fort; later, the district is colonised by the English invader; in the tenth century the place is occupied and fortified by Edward the Elder; the Domesday survey finds it the ecclesiastical centre of the Royal Manor of Salford, with a church which may even then have been the nucleus of the most important parish of the land between Ribble and Mersey. Before we follow Mameceaster through further changes of fortune we must cross the Irwell by the ford and learn something of this Manor, of which, in 1086 Mameceaster seems to have formed a part.

CHAPTER V.

Domesday Book and the Manor of Salford.

Salford, which appears as a Royal Manor in Domesday, has remained a Royal Manor to the present day; the Manor of Manchester, which, as we shall see, was carved out of the Manor of Salford, did not disappear till near the middle of the nineteenth century. At the present time the idea conveyed by the word "manor" is hardly different from that implied by the word estate; in dealing with these ancient manors, however, we must realise that the term once meant much more. A manor has been defined as "a complex of rights over lands and tenements"; it is as difficult, however, to define the term as to trace its origin. If we take a typical manor in these early times, we generally find these features: the lord of the manor holds a certain amount of land in his own hands, and this is called Demesne; other lands are held of him by freehold tenants, who owe him certain services, military or otherwise, or pay him rent in money or kind; other more servile tenants again hold land in villeinage; these are bound to render agricultural and other labour, and there were even lower grades; finally, the position of the lord of the manor entitled him to jurisdiction over his tenants by means of his court. The land consisted of "arable," "meadow," or "waste"; and we have an interesting illustration in the Manchester manor of the way in which cattle were allowed to stray over arable and meadow land after the harvest was gathered, the space now known as St. Ann's Square being then laid down to corn. The frequent references to "ploughs" in the early surveys are due to the fact that the villeins generally combined their oxen to form a team. Such surveys of the Manors of Salford and Manchester as we possess afford ample illustration of all these details. The most famous of these surveys is of course that contained in Domesday Book.

We have no information as to how or when the Manor of

Salford originated. That it existed long before the Conquest is clear from the reference to it in Domesday, but before we quote this record it may be well to call to mind the form in which that great survey was drawn up. Its records consist, in the main, of brief, formal answers to definite queries as to who held the land of each estate at the time of the Norman Conquest, its area, and its value for purposes of taxation in 1066 and 1086; how much land was "waste" or otherwise, and the number of ploughs available for working it; details of stock, mills, game, and fisheries; the number of freemen and those of lower status whom the land supported; and particulars as to the churches and religious houses.

Mainly because the district now known as Lancashire was then largely "march" or border land, the details of its survey in Domesday present various technical difficulties which it would be out of place to discuss here. A great part of the area was forest or waste, and even in the Hundred of Salford much of the land is reported as "free from all custom save Danegeld." From this we may perhaps infer that it was considered unproductive. It is noteworthy that the only places mentioned in the survey of this extensive hundred are Salford, Manchester, Radcliffe, and Rochdale. At the present day it seems almost ludicrous that the value of this great industrial region should be summed up in a few agricultural details. Freely translated into modern English the Domesday reference to Salford would read somewhat as follows:—

"Before the Norman Conquest Salford was held directly by the King, Edward the Confessor. He held the manors of Salford and Radcliffe as demesne. In this demesne there were nine square miles of forest, many "hays" or enclosures for deer, and an eyrie of hawks. In this same demesne there are at present two villeins, eight serfs, and three ploughs. The annual value of the demesne now is five pounds.

"Outside the demesne there were in King Edward's time twenty-one berewicks or hamlets, which were held as sub-manors by his English thanes. In these sub-manors there were nearly fifty square miles of wood. The men of Salford were not bound, as in some other manors, to keep the King's manor house in repair; nor to reap his fields at harvest-time;

and they were only obliged to make for him one enclosure for deer.

"Till recently the land outside the demesne was held of Roger of Poitou by five knights. At the present moment there are in the lands of these five knights three thanes, thirty villeins, nine cottagers, ten serfs, and twenty-five ploughs. The annual value of these lands now is seven pounds.

"Formerly the whole Hundred of Salford yielded to the Crown a revenue of £37 4s. a year. Now, as shown above, the annual value has fallen to £12; viz., £5 for the demesne, and £7 for the remainder.

"There is one ploughland in Manchester whose revenue is set aside as an endowment for the two churches of St. Mary and St. Michael. There is one priest for the whole hundred.

"Some time ago the whole district between Ribble and Mersey was held of King William by Roger of Poitou. Now it has come into the King's hands again."

The names of the five knights mentioned above are given in Domesday; they are distinctly Norman. These knights would hold their lands on condition of rendering military service or its equivalent. Of one of them, whose name was Nigel, we shall hear again, when we come to speak of the Manor of Manchester.

The reference to the King's "hall" or manor-house at Salford is very interesting. Unfortunately we have no record as to where it stood, and the site is now probably buried beneath one of the railway viaducts. We are more fortunate as regards the "hall" of the Manor of Manchester; there is no doubt that its site is now occupied by the building formerly known as "the College," and now called "Chetham's Hospital."

CHAPTER VI.

Roger of Poitou and the Manor of Manchester.

With the entry in Domesday Book the story of Manchester and Salford emerges from the shadows; but though we have more definite material to draw upon, the subject is still somewhat confused, and even a brief summary of the way in which these possessions changed hands cannot fail to be tedious.

We learn from the extract from Domesday Book quoted in the last chapter: (1) that the Hundred of Salford was held as a royal manor in the time of Edward the Confessor; (2) that after the Norman Conquest the land had been granted to a certain Roger of Poitou; (3) that by the year 1086, when Domesday Book was completed, it had once more come into the hands of the King, *i.e.* King William. For a moment we must concern ourselves with this Roger, who passes as a meteor across the local history, and then vanishes for ever.

When William the First assigned the conquered lands of England to his followers, he made a point of placing powerful earls only in positions where special danger was to be apprehended. Thus Durham, Kent, Shropshire, Cheshire and Lancashire were border districts which it was necessary to hold with a strong hand. Cheshire was given to Hugh the Wolf, and Shropshire was assigned to William's cousin, Roger of Montgomery, who led the right wing at the battle of Hastings. To Roger of Montgomery's third son Roger fell the land between Ribble and Mersey, and a great deal of land further north, besides estates in other parts of the country. The whole was called the "Honour (or estate) of Lancaster." This Roger, because he had married Almodis of Poitou, was known as Pictavensis, or Roger of Poitou. He must have had a castle somewhere within the limits of what is now Lancashire, but we cannot say where it was. For some reason the land between Ribble and Mersey (as is indicated in Domesday) had passed out of his hands before 1086, and once

more reverted to the King; hence we read: "Roger of Poitou *held* the land between Ribble and Mersey; *now* the King holds it."

When William Rufus came to the Throne Roger of Poitou was again put in possession. His estates then included almost all of what we now call Lancashire, and he made Lancaster his headquarters, and perhaps there built his castle. In the next reign, however, he took part in a rebellion against Henry I, and was once more dispossessed. He retired to Poitou, and we hear no more about him.

Yet it is probable that before he left the country this Roger of Poitou had taken a step which touches us closely even at the present time. We have assumed, although it is not capable of proof, that at the time of the Domesday survey the district we now know as Manchester formed part of the great royal manor of Salford. Not long after this date we find this same district, with other estates in Lancashire, held as a Barony, under the name of the Barony of Manchester. It has been conjectured that these were the lands referred to in Domesday as held by the Norman knight Nigel. However that may be, they came into the hands of a family named Grelley about this time, and they remained in their possession for two centuries. The Barony of Manchester comprised lands in no less than three of the Lancashire hundreds. At the head of this great Barony was the Manor of Manchester, which first appears early in the twelfth century. This manor would therefore appear to have been carved out of the Manor of Salford, and bestowed on a military tenant, by Roger of Poitou, after his estates had been restored to him by William Rufus. Salford he retained in his own hands as demesne.

Thus, as has been aptly said, "a stroke of a Norman baron's pen divorced Manchester and Salford in all but their devotions, and what he sundered no one has ever been able to bring together again, though they have long ceased to be separated by green fields sloping down to a trout-stream." We shall see, however, that as much as seven centuries later, whenever there has been a question of a demonstration of loyalty to the crown, the two have joined hands.

The boundaries of this new Manor of Manchester are

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Photo by R. H. Fletcher.]

Historical Statues on the Town Hall.

(John Bradford, Charles Worsley, Humphrey Chetham, Henry of Lancaster.)

accurately defined in the early surveys, to which we shall refer in a later chapter. For the moment it may be said that it included nearly all that part of the great parish of Manchester which lay on the left bank of the Irwell, as well as the parish of Ashton-under-Lyne. We have already pointed out that the rivers that meet in the neighbourhood of Manchester were early chosen as civil boundaries. We may now say roughly that the Manor of Manchester was bounded by the Irwell on the west, by the Irk on the north, by the Tame on the east, and by the Mersey on the south. It did, it is true, include some land outside these limits. Even if all this was originally held by the lord as demesne, considerable portions of it were soon let out to tenants as sub-manors; such were Ashton, Heaton Norris, and Withington. We shall return to these at a later stage.

* * * * *

Though it is anticipating events we may conveniently conclude this chapter by mentioning the other changes of proprietorship in this rather confusing story. If these details are tedious, they at least show us how closely the story of Manchester and Salford is linked up with general English history.

After Roger's day his lands passed to the Earl of Chester, and then to William, the son of King Stephen. Later, Richard the First gave them to his brother John. John, in his turn, forfeited them by treason, and for the fourth time they reverted to the Crown.

By the year 1194 "Lancastershire," as it was called for many years, was recognised as one of the English shires. Passing now over a century and a half, we find as Earl of Lancaster a soldier of unusual distinction, one of the most brilliant and capable warriors of the early part of the Hundred Years' War. This Henry, a great-grandson of Henry III (his statue occupies a niche at one corner of the Town Hall), was by Edward III created first Duke of Lancaster, and at about the same time, *i.e.*, 1351, Edward erected Lancashire into a County Palatine.

The circumstances are peculiar. In former times it had been considered advisable, for practical reasons of defence, to

confer what were called palatinate powers upon border counties, *i.e.*, to give to those in charge of them authority which was usually exercised by the king alone. Already, as far back as the time of Count Roger, Lancashire had been for practical purposes a Palatinate in all but the name. Now the Duke of Lancaster became virtually king in his own domain—he had his own chancellor and judges. The case is peculiar because these rights were now conferred, not for reasons of defence, but merely in recognition of the position and distinguished services of the then Duke of Lancaster.

We have to go one step further. In 1399 Henry Bolingbroke, who was already Duke of Lancaster, became King of England. As the Duke of Lancaster was *ex officio* lord of the Manor of Salford, Henry IV held that position also. Ever since 1399, therefore, the King of England has been both Duke of Lancaster and lord of the Manor of Salford. When, some years ago, King George V visited Salford, he requested that in future the toast of his health should be given under those titles.

The Palatine Duchy of Lancaster, which, as we have seen, was created in 1351, still exists, though in Judicature only its Chancery Court remains. As in the case of the Duchy of Cornwall, which was created in the same reign, its revenues are kept distinct, and its accounts are published separately.

CHAPTER VII.

The Early Surveys of the Manors of Manchester and Salford.

For our picture of Manchester as a mediæval manor we have to depend entirely upon the surveys of the manor made from time to time when, *e.g.*, it changed hands or fell back to the king during the minority of the heir. We have only space here to cull from these somewhat tedious surveys a few of the more picturesque details. The boundaries of the manor are given with great precision in these old records, but the disappearance of a number of names and landmarks makes the details difficult to follow. We have already indicated the boundaries very roughly by rivers, and need only add that of the area so enclosed several portions were let out as sub-manors in these early times. The most important of these sub-manors was Withington, which then included Didsbury, Rusholme, Chorlton-cum-Hardy, Levenshulme, Denton and Haughton. The lords of this sub-manor, named Longford, formerly had their manor-house on the site of the present Chorlton's farm in Old Hall Lane, where the moat may still be seen. A great part of what is now the City of Manchester consisted then of wild moors, waste ground, and wood; this will appear partly as we proceed; it is also evidenced by such place names as Openshaw, and the various mosses, while in South Manchester we have Rusholme, Moss Side, Withington and several "laches."

At the centre of the manor, on the site of the present Chetham's Hospital, stood the lord's manor-house, with garden attached (the fruit of which is duly valued), a kennel outside the gate, and plots of home pasture sloping down to the Irk and the Irwell. With these the ancient survey opens. There follow lists of messuages or small holdings in the various parts of the manor, and the rest is parcelled out respectively as arable, pasture, meadow, heath, and wood; the

object being to ascertain exactly what these several lands are worth annually to the lord. As seems natural, the arable, as years go on, consists of a belt of fields won gradually from the surrounding woods, the most ancient arable probably lying near the river, its position indicated perhaps by the modern street-names of Ridgefield and Dolefield, and by Acresfield, the old name for St. Ann's Square, which was a cornfield down to the year 1800. Meadow and pasture are named at Alport, Bradford, and Blackley, and there is some common pasture at Crumpsall. Crumpsall, Openshaw, and Collyhurst, however, are mostly moor and waste, from which peat is obtained, the value "decreasing little by little" as the beds are worked out. There are woods at Alport and Bradford where "hawks, herons, and eagles" nest, and the honey of wild bees may be obtained; while at Blackley, which includes what is now Boggart Hole Clough, the lord has a park seven miles in circumference, with 200 deer and two deer-leaps, and even a hint of mineral resources.

The lord has also a mill on the Irk in "Long Mylnegate," where his tenants must perforce grind all their corn, paying as toll one-sixteenth part of the corn they brought, or, in the quaint wording of the time, "to the sixteenth grain." There was another mill in Gorton. Near to the cornmill on the Irk was a "walker's" or fuller's mill, which is supposed to have given its name to the present Walker's Croft. The exact position of the lord's oven, at which his tenants were bound to bake their bread, is not known; its annual value in 1282 is given in the currency of the time as ten shillings. Of the sporting and fishing rights of the lord we speak in a later chapter.

The tenants on this manor fall into several classes, excluding for the moment the burgesses, of whom we shall speak when we come to the town. There are freehold and leasehold tenants and tenants in villeinage; there are also (we mention these only to show once more how the history of Manchester illustrates general English history) "tenants in tail"; these were created by the Statute of Westminster in 1285. Naturally it is the villeins who interest us most. These were scattered over the estate in small hamlets, some of which

developed later into townships, such as Ardwick, Crumpsall and Gorton. Minute details are given (in what may perhaps be taken as a typical case) of one born a serf of the lord of Manchester. Besides paying for his small holding an annual sum in money he is obliged to bring his own plough and do one day's ploughing a year whenever the lord may require it, for which he receives twopence and his day's food; under similar conditions he must harrow, reap, and carry corn for the lord in the proper season; not only is he obliged to grind his own corn at his lord's mill, and bake his bread at the lord's oven, but he must, as occasion requires, haul new mill-stones from the quarry to the mills. In a survey of the Manor of Manchester made in the thirteenth century, no less than thirty-six such villeins are named. Even servile tenants on the sub-manor of Withington owed similar services to the lord so long as they could find ploughs.

For the regulation of the affairs of the manor there was the "Court Baron of the Manor of Manchester," which met every three weeks. In this court the lords of the sub-manors sat as judges and considered "any trangression whatsoever over which the peace of the lord and the bailiffs may be broken." To carry out the rulings of the court there was a grith (or peace) serjeant, who was assisted by four under-bailiffs. The sub-manors could also hold similar courts called halmotes. The annual income accruing to the lord from the fines levied in these various courts was considerable. For enforcing decisions the lord claimed "the liberty of the gallows, the pit, the pillory, and the tumbril." We shall meet with examples of the use of such instruments of punishment in the later records of these courts. Their earlier proceedings, unfortunately, have not been preserved.

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We glean less precise details of the boundaries of Salford from the early surveys. These refer sometimes to the hundred, sometimes to the manor, and later to the town or borough. One fact that becomes clear is that the manor was much more extensive than the present township. There were large areas of "waste" along Oldfield Road, towards Pendleton, and round Ordsall; "sixty acres of waste by

Ordsal came into the lord's hands with the manor of Ordsal." The free tenants at one time had rights in waste, in pasture, and in turbary, *i.e.* peat for fuel. Broughton appears generally as "a hamlet of Salford." As the town emerges, we have references to the yield of the water-mill, the market, the fair, rentals of outlying farms, and of "a toft by the bridge." All trace of the manor-house, as we have said, has disappeared.

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In this brief summary an attempt has been made to take out, from the rather confusing surveys of the time, the main features of the *manors* as distinct from the *towns*, which were meanwhile growing up in their midst on both sides of the Irwell. Strange to say, the manorial courts eventually absorbed to a great extent the courts of the towns, and by the sixteenth century we shall have the curious spectacle of two towns largely swayed by the manorial system.

One incident, not without a touch of humour, may conclude this attempt to peer into these far-off times. It has been mentioned that Withington was a sub-manor of the Manor of Manchester, and that the moat that surrounded the Withington manor-house may still be seen. The first recorded lord of Withington under the Grelleys was William, son of Wulfrith de Withington. On one occasion, at some date prior to 1212, his claim to four bovates of land in Chorlton was disputed by Gospatric de Chorlton. According to the custom of the time the dispute was to be decided by wager of battle. As Gospatric was not prepared to fight in person, he granted one-eighth part of the vill of Chorlton to his brother, Adam de Chorlton, in consideration of his fighting for him. The duel took place; we may picture it as we will –a joust, perhaps, in one of the open fields still available. Gospatric's champion was beaten, and William de Withington thus proved his right to four bovates of land in Chorlton, the subsequent history of which can be traced in the old records.

We can still locate the site of the manor-house of Withington by its well-preserved moat in Old Hall Lane, off Burton Road. Not far away is the residence of the Lord of the Manor of Manchester, Hough End (pronounced Hoos End). Near

Photo by R. H. Fletcher.] [*Block lent by Messrs. Sherratt and Hughes.*

The moat (still to be seen), off Old Hall Lane, of the manor-house of the Lords of Withington, known as "The Hough."

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Photo by R. H. Fletcher.] [*Block lent by Messrs. Sherratt and Hughes.*

Hough End Hall.

For many years the residence of the Lord of the Manor of Manchester.

by we find Demesne Farm, Dog Kennel Farm, Doghouse Farm, and we believe the name Deer-leap occurs in old records. Grouped around these are a number of the Old Halls, to whose history we refer in a later chapter. It is here, perhaps, in a district which has remained mainly agricultural, though railways, aerodromes and housing schemes threaten soon to destroy its rural character, that the tradition of the "manor" lingers more than anywhere else in the neighbourhood of Manchester.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Lords of the Manors of Salford and Manchester.

We have already named the more famous of the barons who held the honour of Lancaster, and by virtue of that fact were lords of the Manor of Salford down to the time when both of these offices passed to the reigning sovereign; and two names have also been mentioned in connection with the barony of Manchester. The records of Manchester history contain many honoured names which are still familiar; but the names of the barons of Manchester who were successively lords of the manor for over seven centuries, have passed into oblivion. Yet there were among these, albeit they were of humbler station than the Royal lords of Salford, men who distinguished themselves in war, in statesmanship, in the Church, in commerce, and in sport, and in some cases rendered signal service to the town that grew up in their manor.

To-day it is interesting to remember that the ancient lords of Salford and Manchester were knights, owing and actually performing the military service on condition of which they held their lands; answering, as occasion required, the King's military summons: "We command you, that at the said time and place, you shall come, with horses and arms, as due by your service to us"; answering too the writ which called them to take their place in the Great Council of the realm. Gradually military service was commuted to a money payment. There is one other detail to remind us of the feudal tenure by which these lands were held. In the year 1168 the men of Salford paid £14 10s. towards the feudal "aid" for the marriage of the daughter of King Henry II.

We will pass over the debated question as to whether Nigel was the first Baron of Manchester; however that may be, the Barony was in the twelfth century in the hands of the Grelleys, a family of Norman origin. Eight members of this house seem to have been lords of Manchester, till in

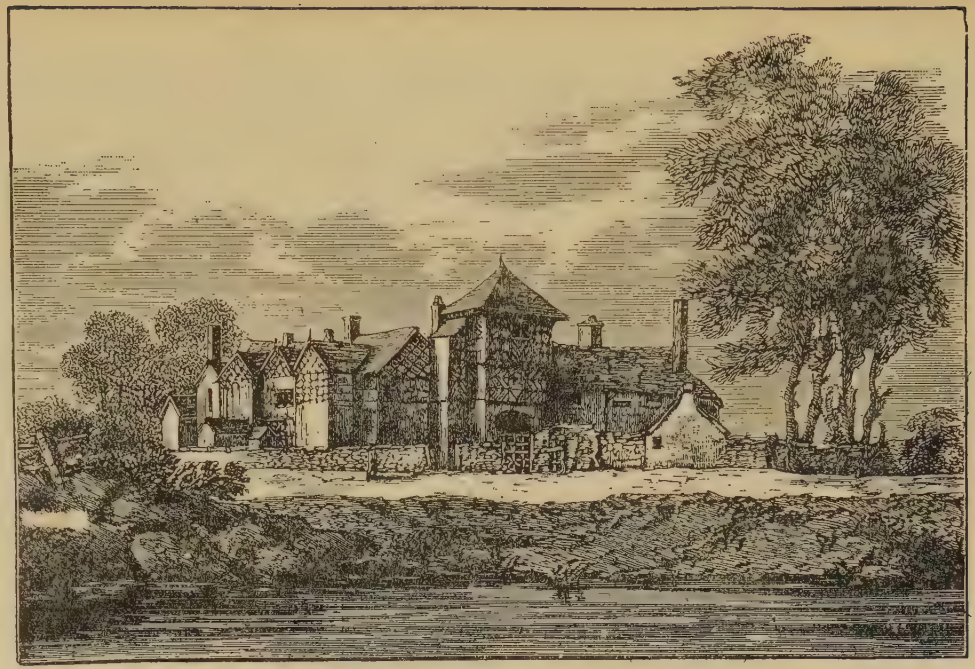
1311 the manor passed into the hands of the La Warres. A number of these lords gradually improved their position and increased their possessions by fortunate marriages. Some of them resided at the manor-house or baronial hall, which stood on the site of what is now Chetham's Hospital. Some of them also, as we shall see, availed themselves of the fine opportunities for sport which the barony then offered. It was Robert, the second of the Grelleys, who founded the Cistercian abbey at Swineshead, on his Lincolnshire estate, endowing it with the income of his corn-mill in Long Millgate; this revenue fell back to the manor later on. It was at Swineshead that King John indulged in the meal that caused his death. Nearly 300 years later, Hugh Oldham held the living of Swineshead.

The lord of Manchester who achieved the greatest distinction, however, was perhaps the fifth baron of this line, also a Robert. It was during his regime that the right to hold an annual fair was granted to the town. He is described as *vir nobilis et potens.* He married a niece of William Longchamp, and he was among the knights who met at Stamford to extort Magna Charta from King John, who retaliated by temporarily depriving the baron of his estate. Later, he took part in the fighting in the reign of Henry III. The last but one of the Grelleys married Hawise, who was descended from Hubert de Burgh, and from David I, King of Scotland; as Thomas, the issue of this marriage, succeeded his father, it can be said of at least one of the ancient lords of Manchester, that he was of royal descent. It was this Thomas who, in 1301, granted a charter to his burgesses of Manchester. He never married, and with him the line comes to an end. His statue fills a niche on the façade of the Town Hall. Before his death he transferred the estates to his sister Joan, who had married John la Warre, of Wickwar, in Gloucestershire.

There follow a number of barons of this new line, who severally distinguished themselves at Sluys, at Creçy, at Poitiers, in Flanders, and at the battle of the Spurs. It was the fourth of these (his statue is also included in the Town Hall group) who collegiated the Church, as is described in a

later chapter. From the La Warres the manor passed to the Wests, and was by them sold to a certain John Lacy, a clothworker of London, in the year 1579, for the sum of £3,000. Included in the sale were "all fines, markets, tolls, liberties, customs, privileges, free warren, etc., to the manor belonging." Less than twenty years later, in 1596, Lacy disposed of the estates to his friend Nicholas Mosley, who became Lord Mayor of London in 1599, and was then knighted by Queen Elizabeth. It was he who rebuilt Hough End Hall (the fine Elizabethan farmhouse which still stands between Withington and Chorlton) on the site of the old mansion. His descendant, Sir Edward Mosley, as we shall see, suffered heavily in the Civil War. He had a residence at Alport, known as Alport Lodge, which was completely destroyed by the Parliamentarians in 1642. His son resided at Hulme Hall. In 1693 the manor fell to Lady Ann Bland, who built St. Ann's Church. The last lord of the manor of Manchester was Sir Oswald Mosley. In 1815 he offered to sell the manor and its rights to the town of Manchester for £90,000, but the offer was declined. Thirty years later the Mayor and Corporation paid Sir Oswald Mosley £200,000 for rights which two and a half centuries before had been sold for £3,000. Since 1846 the Corporation has possessed all the rights formerly held by the lord of the manor, but many of these have fallen into disuse.

This brief sketch would not be complete without at least a reference to the fact that the lord of this ancient Manor of Manchester more than once came into conflict with the inhabitants of the town. This occurred, to take only three examples, when Sir Nicholas, the first of the Mosleys, attempted to enclose waste land on which the burgesses had rights according to their charter; and also in connection with the obligation to grind corn and malt at the lord's mill. The second case afforded material for one of John Byrom's most famous epigrams. One other instance may be quoted, as it explains a street-name that puzzles many people to-day. The short street that turns out of Market Street towards the *Guardian* office is called "Newmarket"; the origin of the name is as follows: by the year 1780 the market lower down



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Hulme Hall.

The Residence of Lady Anne Bland, who founded St. Ann's Church. The Hall stood on the banks of the Irwell, near its junction with the Medlock.

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From the Collection of the late Fletcher Moss.]

Clayton Hall (back view) with Moat.

the street had become so crowded that two men purchased land in what was then Poolfold, a former residence of the Radcliffes, and erected a market hall and stalls on the site of the present offices of the *Manchester Guardian*. This was an infringement of the rights of the lord of the manor, as set forth in the charter of the town, and he entered an action, won his case, and afterwards purchased the new market, which was continued till 1803.

CHAPTER IX.

Sporting Rights of the Lords of Manchester.

Of the barons of Manchester enumerated in the last chapter it has been seen that the La Warres distinguished themselves as soldiers. Of their predecessors, the Grelleys, one at least was a great sportsman. In addition to the parks and woods in the immediate vicinity of the manor-house, the barony of Manchester comprised wide hunting grounds in the north-west of the Salford Hundred, in the district known as the forest of Horwich, near Rivington Pike. In the surveys of the manor this is referred to as the "Upper Bailiwick" (or forest in charge of a bailiff), and it was here that the lord had his "vaccaries" or cow-pastures. Over all these lands Thomas Grelley, the sixth baron, obtained the right of "free warren" in the year 1294. "Know ye," runs the permit issued in the name of King Edward I, "that we have granted, and by this our charter have confirmed, to our beloved and faithful Thomas Grelley, that he and his heirs may have free warren in all his demesne lands of Mamecestre, in the county of Lancaster . . . . so that no one shall enter his lands to hunt or to chase in them." "Free warren" implied the right to keep on the prescribed lands beasts and fowls of warren, including hares, rabbits, partridges, pheasants, woodcock, quail, and water fowl. The name of Wildboarclough, attached to one of the valleys in Horwich forest, may suggest that deer were not the only object of the chase.

In the early records of one of the courts we have a somewhat humorous reference to this forest of Horwich. In the year 1254 there is a writ "to enquire who, with dogs, and crossbows, did enter Thomas Grelley's forest of Horwich." The inquest was held, and the evidence went to show that on a certain Saturday, in the market-place at Manchester, Thomas Grelley's bailiff learnt from men in the market that they had heard dogs in the park. Hurrying to Horwich, the bailiff

found there a harrier belonging to Geoffrey de Chetham, herding a number of the wild animals, and there and then (as the old record quaintly puts it) *fecit quod voluerit* (he did to that dog what seemed to him good).

Nearer at hand than Horwich the lord of Manchester had an enclosed deer-park at Blackley, with room for two deer-leaps and two hundred deer. He had also two woods close to his manor-house, one at Bradford, which seems to have been famous for its stores of honey, the other at Allport, in the neighbourhood of the Roman fort, off Deansgate, which is said to have contained herons, hawks, and even eagles.

The extensive practice of falconry in those days necessitated the careful preservation of hawks and herons. The care of these woods was accordingly entrusted to foresters, who were responsible for the welfare of the game, as well as for the income yielded by the pasture in the forest glades and the honey of the wild bees. The inhabitants of the surrounding villages were obliged to assist in this preservation, and to supply the foresters with food. Picturesque details are to be found in the old surveys from which we have already quoted. Thus we read in a survey dated 1322, that when the hawks began to nest in the spring the villagers were compelled to go into the forest with the foresters, and locate the eyries. These were carefully watched till the eggs were hatched, when it was the business of the village people to take the hawk chickens from the nests and deliver them to the foresters, under penalty of being cited to appear before the lord's court at Manchester.

In addition to his forest rights the lord of Manchester claimed the exclusive privilege of fishing in the Manchester rivers; and the fishing rights in the now polluted streams of the Irk, the Medlock, and the Gore Brook had then a definite money value. In the case of the Irwell the rights of the lord extended only half way across the river; the other half belonged to the Manor of Salford. Similarly, in the survey of 1322, the fishing in the Mersey, near Didsbury, is defined as "to the mid-stream."

The special interest taken in these sports by Thomas Grelley, the sixth baron, may perhaps explain the fact that

after he had obtained free warren over his own lands, he was appointed the King's Justiciar of the forests south of the Trent.

We may fitly conclude this chapter with a beautiful story related of one of the Grelleys. In the middle of the twelfth century Albert, the young son of Robert Grelley, baron of Manchester, possessed a falcon of which he was exceedingly fond. One day the bird fell sick, and the boy was so grieved that "he betook himself to the intercession of the blessed boy and martyr William, praying that by his kindness the bird might be restored." If this were granted, he vowed that he would come to the saint every year with an offering in acknowledgment. His elders laughed at him. "Yet it came to pass that as the boy prayed with tears and sobs, contrary to the expectation of everyone the bird breathed again." The boy was afterwards seen proceeding with his father to Norwich to pay his vows.

CHAPTER X.

The Two Little Towns and Their Charters.

We turn from the picturesque if somewhat confusing records of the feudal manors to watch the birth and gradual rise of the two little towns that grew up in their midst, one on each side of the Irwell, and were connected, we may suppose, at first by the ford, which crossed the river where Victoria Bridge now stands, and later by a bridge, which was there at least as early as 1226. For at least five and a half centuries this bridge seems to have been the only connecting link between Manchester and Salford.

The "town" element had already begun to leaven the two ancient manors when we get our first records of them. In the earliest survey of the manor of Manchester which we possess, made in 1282, when, on the death of Robert Grelley, the estate fell to his heir, then only three years of age, the values are assessed of the rent of a number of burgages, or holdings; of the tolls of the market and the fair; and of the perquisites of the court of the *borough* (as distinguished from the court *baron*) of Manchester. These four elements—burgages or free holdings, market, fair, and town-court (or "port-moot" as it was called)—afford abundant evidence that the lord of the manor of Manchester had, like so many feudal lords of that time, seen the advantage of freeing a number of his tenants from the old agricultural service, and accepting rent instead; and that he had, moreover, recognised the profits accruing from the tolls of market and fair, and allowed his burgesses a court for the management of their own business. We shall see that the profits from markets and fairs were fully appreciated by the lord of the manor of Manchester even as late as 1840. Already, before the close of the thirteenth century, we have evidence of nearly 150 burgages as a nucleus of the town which was afterwards to grow so rapidly.

If it is not easy to trace the beginnings of the change from

manor to town in Manchester, it is equally difficult to do so on the other side of the Irwell at Salford. We can only say that Salford obtained its charter as a town about 1230, while Manchester had to wait till 1301; but long before these dates the elements of the town had appeared on both sides of the river. In Salford each burgess had one acre of ground allotted to him, for which he paid twelvepence a year; the same rent was charged for the Manchester burgages, whose size is not given. As a guide to the size of the tenements we may mention that in another Lancashire town each burgher was allowed a frontage of twelve feet on the public street.

The weekly market and the annual fair are said to have been granted to Salford by the King in 1228; the profits from these were leased out by the Crown as late as the eighteenth century; we have no date for the origin of the Manchester market, but the right to hold an annual fair was granted by Henry III in 1227 in the following terms: "Henry the King greeting: Know ye that we have granted, and by this our present charter have confirmed to Robert Grelley, that he and his heirs may have for ever one fair at his manor of Mamecestre, yearly during three days, viz., on the eve and on the day and on the morrow of St. Matthew the apostle." It is worth noting in passing that one of the witnesses to this document was the famous Hubert de Burgh.

This annual fair was held, down to the nineteenth century, in the space now known as St. Ann's Square, and this fact explains why that area has never been built over. We have already seen that it was at an early date enclosed as arable, bearing the name of Acresfield or Four Acres. When the end of September came, the corn had sometimes to be cut and carried hurriedly, and the fences removed, in preparation for the fair. From September to February the land lay open as common pasture. When, in 1708, an Act was obtained permitting the erection of St. Ann's Church, provision was made for the fair to be continued, a width of 30 yards was secured (it is interesting in this connection to pace out the width of the square to-day), and the area thus formed and lined with residences, took its name from the foundress of the church and the reigning sovereign. The rows of lime trees

which appear in old prints disappeared early in the nineteenth century. The cattle fair was eventually moved to Allport, the trade in other commodities to Shudehill, and afterwards to Campfield. The fair was finally abolished in 1876, having lasted as an annual event for six and a half centuries. Before the end of the thirteenth century the tolls of this fair were yielding the lord a sum equivalent to £100 of our money. As late as 1832 the Deansgate end of St. Ann's Street was known as Toll Lane. We have not the same details of the Salford fair, which was held on the eve, day, and morrow of the Nativity of St. Mary. A survey of 1346 shows that the number of burgages in Salford then was about 130.

For our picture of life in these two little towns we must look to their charters. The originals of these are still preserved, written on parchment in a neat court hand, in the usual abbreviated Latin. A comparison of the two makes it clear that the charter of Manchester was based on that of Salford (which, as we have seen, was obtained some seventy years earlier), but departs from it in some details, comprising, as it does, 34 clauses to Salford's 26. The Salford charter was granted by Ranulf Blundeville, Earl of Chester, to whom John had entrusted Lancashire in 1216. One of the witnesses to this charter was Simon de Montfort. The Manchester charter, finally sealed by Thomas Grelley, then baron of Manchester, on Sunday, May 14, 1301, is witnessed by a number of representatives of the local families, such as Byron, de Trafford, Hulton, Prestwich, Pilkington, and Moston; these names are still familiar. Manchester was governed by this charter down to 1846, when the Corporation purchased the manorial rights from the then lord of the manor, and naturally the charter ceased to exist. It was quoted in the courts as late as the middle of the eighteenth century. Presumably the Salford Charter has never been repealed.

In both towns the rent paid for a burgage was accepted "in lieu of all service." The tenant was free, within certain limits, to sell or transfer his holding and leave the town (first paying the lord fourpence); or to bequeath his burgage to whom he would. In this connection the rights of women were not overlooked. If a burgess died, his widow might

continue to live in his house, and must be provided with necessaries ("free bench" is the quaint term of the time), unless she married again. In the absence of a burgess his wife might represent him in court.

The burgesses were free to elect their own Reeve or mayor, and matters of dispute were to be settled at the borough court or port-moot, except in cases of theft, which in Manchester must be tried in the lord's court already mentioned. Distraint for debt was allowed, even when the debtor was a knight or a priest. In cases of assault the distinction was drawn that whereas in Salford even trifling charges must be dealt with in the court, in Manchester no trial was necessary if the assailant could reach his house without detection; if then it had been a case of "falling out and in anger striking without shedding blood," he might "bear the revenge of his adversary," or "make his peace with him privately." The fine of twelve pence in Manchester for assault on week-days was raised to twenty shillings on Sundays. Salford, as the head of the hundred, has a special clause prohibiting such trades as shoemaking, tanning, fulling, etc., except within the limits of the borough. Fortunately, for Manchester, the clause concluded with the words "saving the rights of the barons." But for this the trade of Manchester may have been nipped in the bud.

In both charters there are strict regulations as to "the assize of bread and ale," (*i.e.*, the scale of prices fixed by the lord); the obligation to grind corn at the lord's mill, and bake bread at his oven; and a statement of the privileges of burgesses as regards market tolls and stalls, and free pasture in the lord's waste ground and woods. The Manchester tenants, however, were more restricted in this last matter than their neighbours across the river: they had to pay a fee for turning out their swine in the autumn, when beech nuts and acorns were plentiful. The Salford charter, again, allowed burgesses to take from the lord's woods "all they require for building or fuel." For some reason the Manchester charter contains no such provision. Finally, the lords of Manchester and Salford reserved the right to tax their burgesses whenever the King levied a "tallage" on his free

boroughs. The supplementary clauses in the Manchester charter refer mainly to the disposal of burgages, procedure in the courts, and regulations as to market stalls.

Despite their charters, Manchester and Salford were not allowed to call themselves boroughs; they were merely market towns; and this disability continued down to the time of the great Reform Bill.

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There are no maps or plans extant of Manchester and Salford in these early times. The first we possess is dated more than three centuries later. One or two of the present street names (Long Millgate and Deansgate are examples) are mentioned as early as the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The earliest known plan (dated 1650) shows the houses clustering round the site of the Cathedral, and straggling along Deansgate, Long Millgate, and Market Street, while Salford is represented by Greengate, a fragment of Chapel Street, and the beginnings of Gravel Lane. We have thus not sufficient material to reconstruct Manchester and Salford at the time when the grant of their charters constituted them (in a limited sense, at any rate) free boroughs. At the most we may assume that Deansgate on the line of the Roman road, Long Millgate passing the lord's mill and oven, a single bridge across the Irwell, Greengate and the King's hall in Salford, a church on the site of the present Cathedral, and the baron's hall where Chetham's Hospital now stands, were already prominent features in the two little towns.

The charters have thrown some sidelights on the life of the inhabitants. Opportunities for social intercourse would be afforded by the weekly markets, the annual three-day fairs, and by certain feasts, of which details have come down to us. On these occasions the burgesses of the little towns would come in contact with the inhabitants of the surrounding hamlets, townships, and sub-manors, and these outlying districts must now claim our attention.

CHAPTER XI.

The Thirty Townships of the Parish of Manchester.

If we stand to-day at the heart of the modern city and watch the trams streaming outwards along the great arteries of its traffic, we may find in the inscriptions upon their name-boards some sort of epitome of the local history. Many of these names are comparatively modern: Hightown, *e.g.*, dates no further back than 1845; with these we are not for the moment concerned; a few of them still remind us of the elements of the feudal manor; some of them date back even to Saxon times. In the attempt to unravel the story of these districts several facts must be borne clearly in mind. Thus, Salford as a manor was in existence before the manor of Manchester; indeed, Salford was the civil centre of the hundred of Salford, of which Manchester formed a part; Manchester, on the other hand, was the site of the church to which the whole hundred at one time owed spiritual allegiance. While, therefore, Salford gave its name to the hundred, Manchester gave its name to the parish, which may at one time have been practically coincident with the hundred, but was afterwards confined within narrower limits. We cannot say how or when the great parish of Manchester was formed, nor exactly when the single-township parish of Ashton-under-Lyne (which formed part of the Manchester barony) was carved out of it. The living of Ashton remained for a long time in the gift of the lord of Manchester, and Ashton still recognises its ancient manor by electing annually a mayor of the manor as well as a mayor of the borough, and by regularly holding its court leet.

The parish of Manchester, as at present constituted, covers an area of nearly sixty square miles, and comprises no less than thirty townships. A number of these only developed into townships gradually; in the middle of the sixteenth century, for example, only eight were recognised as such; one

necessary qualification for a township was the possession of constables. Though these divisions are to a great extent obsolete for local government purposes, it is part of our business to understand their origin, and as it is obviously impossible in a slight sketch to discuss their history in detail,

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The thirty Townships of the Parish of Manchester.

it will be convenient to consider them as falling into certain groups. One interesting fact is that their boundaries are—perhaps in the majority of cases—still determined by the rivers and streams to which reference has already been made.

Thus—to take only a few examples—the township of Manchester itself is bounded almost entirely by the river Irwell and its tributaries the Irk and the Medlock and Shooter's Brook; the townships of Salford and Broughton are largely defined by the same river; the windings of the Irwell round the borough of Salford are said to extend over ten miles; Blackley lies in a bend of the Irk; Heaton Norris has the Cringle Brook and the Mersey as its northern and southern boundaries; and so on. There are some interesting exceptions. Several of the townships are divided by the "Mickle" or "Nico" ditch, which runs westward from Ashton Moss for a distance of five miles. This curious ancient fosse, which is still well-preserved in the neighbourhood of Platt Bridge, is mentioned as a boundary as early as the year 1200. Its origin is quite obscure. With these preliminary remarks we may now proceed to examine the development of the thirty townships of the parish. In what follows their names are, for clearness, printed in italics.

The township of *Manchester*, which was once more extensive than it is now, must have developed from the demesne of the manor; the same would be true of *Salford*; *Broughton* (the original village near the ford of the Irwell) was a hamlet of Salford. Salford and Broughton, while lying in the parish of Manchester, were in no sense subject to its lord. Three other townships, perhaps representing estates existing before the Conquest, *Cheetham*, *Reddish*, and *Stretford*, were originally held directly of the King in thegnage; while *Hulme* was held in thegnage of the lord of Salford. Several of the existing townships serve to remind us of the elements of the feudal manor. Thus, *Blackley* was the lord's deer-park; at *Bradford* he had his woods; and *Beswick*, whose history is in some respects peculiar, may also have been part of his demesne. *Newton*, again, with its outlying portion of Kirkmanshulme, represented the endowment of the church mentioned in Domesday. Five of the present townships—*Ardwick*, *Crumpsall*, *Gorton*, *Moston*, and *Openshaw*, are named in the early surveys as hamlets of Manchester.

There remain a number of sub-manors. The most important of these were Ashton-under-Lyne (which, as we

have seen, was early formed into a separate parish); *Heaton Norris,* which early "escheated," or fell back to the parent-manor; and *Withington.* There are two points of interest in connection with Withington. In the first place the manor seems to have been in existence early in the twelfth century, before the barony of Manchester was formed. It was then held directly from Salford, and was obliged "to find one Judge for the King." Later, it was held under the barony of Manchester, "by the service of one knight's fee." It included, as districts or hamlets, as we have seen, *Didsbury, Chorlton-cum-Hardy, Burnage, Levenshulme, Rusholme, Moss Side, Denton,* and *Haughton* (the last two being now outside the city boundary). These districts, which afterwards developed into townships, were never manors in the proper sense. In the case of Moss Side it is difficult to trace even a village. Burnage is of special interest, because its township seems to have gradually developed out of moorlands bordering the ancient "Saltergate," the road along which salt was brought to Manchester from Cheshire. The second interesting point about Withington is that it has posed successively as a manor held of the King, a sub-manor of the barony of Manchester, an independent township, the head of an urban district council, and now, in 1918, as a Parliamentary borough.

Of the four remaining townships, *Chorlton-on-Medlock* (formerly known as Chorlton Row) was a manor about the year 1300; *Failsworth* dates back nearly a century earlier; *Droylsden* includes Clayton, which was really the nucleus of the manor; and *Harpurhey* represents land held of the Manor of Manchester by a certain William Harpour early in the fourteenth century.

We have now named the thirty townships of the great parish, and given some hint of their origin. The borough of Salford was extended in 1853, so as to include, not only Broughton, but also the township of Pendleton, and later, a detached portion of Pendlebury; the two latter lying within the parish of Eccles. Pendleton—not very long ago a village lying some distance from Salford—has changed hands many times; originally it formed part of the royal manor of Salford.

The later history of these townships (if we may anticipate

for a moment) is curious. Included from time immemorial within the great parish, some of them have never had any other connection with Manchester; others, which were originally within the manor or barony, have broken away, and developed their own local government; and later, as the city grew in importance, have, by the vote of their inhabitants, been absorbed into the municipal area, and shared its advantages. This was specially the case during the last two decades of the nineteenth century and the opening years of the twentieth. Thus, in 1890, a local government enquiry was held concerning the proposed incorporation of no less than eight of these outlying townships at once. On the other hand, a portion of Heaton Norris (this manor obtained its name from a certain William Norrys to whom it was granted in 1212) is now incorporated with Stockport. From 1838 to 1885 the municipality of Manchester was formed of only six townships; it now comprises no less than twenty-one. Of these, eight are now combined to form the township of North Manchester; twelve constitute the new township of South Manchester; and the old township of Manchester lies between. Salford has not yet extended its boundaries beyond the three townships of Salford, Pendleton, and Broughton.

Beside the districts which actually developed into townships, there are a number which were hamlets, or constituted estates within other townships or manors, and whose names still survive. Many more, mentioned in ancient surveys or records, can no longer be identified. A great number of the halls and manor houses which were the family residences on these estates are yet standing, though in a number of cases adapted to other uses; some have been swept away. These halls may fitly form the subject of a later chapter.

Of these districts –to take Salford first—Ordsal is mentioned as early as 1177; at the other extremity of Salford, Kersal Cell marks the site of the tiny Clugniac oratory endowed as early as 1142, the gift including fishing rights in the Irwell, and pasture on the waste (this was almost the first religious endowment in Lancashire); the characteristic Lancashire name, Irlams-o'th'-Height, originated with a certain Irlam who kept the Black Horse Inn there; Weaste, again,

one of the most recent suburbs of Salford, was "Waste" as far back as 1570, when its mansion is mentioned. Turning now to Manchester, the district of Collyhurst reminds us of the "waste" on which the townspeople from the earliest times had the right of pasture and of feeding their swine; Ancoats is one of the hamlets mentioned in the early records, where "the way that leadeth unto Ancoats" is the name of its street; while Clayden appears as early as 1160. Northwards we have Smedley, Nuthurst, Hough, Culcheth, and Monsall; while further afield, and to the south, Trafford was a twin-manor with Stretford, Hardy and Barlow were included with Chorlton, Rusholme could boast estates at Platt and Birch (both named as early as 1190), as well as at Slade and Holt; Fallowfield can be traced back as far as 1301; and Ladybarn is named as a district of Burnage as early as 1612.

The majority of these townships and districts, and even the private estates, are now covered with the teeming population of the modern city. Yet it is not so long ago that many of them were tiny villages or outlying hamlets, straggling along the roads that radiated from Manchester like the spokes of a wheel. From some of them the village green has but recently disappeared; at least one can still show its maypole, for the Pendleton pole claims that it dates back to the reign of Edward I. In some cases, fortunately, the private estate and residence have become the public park.

We may conclude this brief summary with two typical instances of the growth of population, chosen from opposite sides of the city. In the middle of the seventeenth century Rusholme could boast fourteen ratepayers, and Blackley had a population of 107. The population of either to-day will be well over 20,000.

In thus speaking generally of the numerous townships and districts which are included in Manchester and Salford, we have considerably anticipated events. We must now return to the mediæval period at which we left the story of the two little towns.

CHAPTER XII.

The Collegiation of the Manchester Church.

The grant of a charter to Manchester in 1301 brought us to the opening of the fourteenth century. If we except the surveys of the barony, from which we have already quoted, the details available for this period are very scanty. The lords of Manchester, as we have seen, took their place in Parliament, and bore their full share in the foreign wars. Lancashire, as already indicated, became a County Palatine in the middle of this century, and there are signs that Manchester was not quite exempt from the lawlessness that followed on this freedom, when men returned from the campaigns abroad. But circumstances at home were turning men's minds from foreign wars to far other matters.

The great events of the century in English domestic history were the Black Death, and the labour troubles consequent upon its ravages; we reach here the dividing line between the mediæval and modern periods; villeinage, which we have seen in full swing in the manor of Manchester, was dying out; there was, further, the dissatisfaction with the state of the Church, which was voiced by Wycliffe and his followers. Two at least of these signs of the times are strikingly reflected in the contemporary local history. Manchester took little part in the peasants' revolt, but it suffered severely from the ravages of the plague at this and later periods. There is, indeed, good reason to suspect that the conditions of the town were not sanitary. With so large a percentage of deaths in the great parish it was difficult to enforce rules about burial at the mother church. Hence licences were granted to bury at some of the local chapels that had sprung up in the great straggling parish. To anticipate for a moment, by the middle of the seventeenth century (up to which time there was only one church in the parish of Manchester) nine of such chapels

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Old view of Chetham's Hospital (seen from the north).

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The Fox Court: Chetham's Hospital.

were in existence, those, viz., at Blackley, Newton, Gorton, Denton, Birch, Didsbury, Chorlton, and Salford. In several cases these chapels, which have since developed into important churches, owed their existence to the initiative of local families, and they give us a useful clue to the chief centres of population. Of these chapels, the one at Didsbury, which was founded early in the thirteenth century, affords an interesting illustration of the effects of the Black Death in the Manchester district. In 1352 we find the Bishop of Lichfield granting a Commission for the dedication of the chapel-yard at Didsbury, for the burial of such as died of the pestilence there and in the surrounding hamlets, because of the devotion of the inhabitants and their distance from the parish church of Manchester. Partly owing to the fear of infection, moreover, the local gentry were allowed to hold services in their own manor houses.

The pestilence had thinned the ranks of the clergy, and there was much dissatisfaction at the lowering of their standard and the imperfect performance of their duties. Manchester, it is clear, suffered much at this time from the absenteeism of its rectors, and the consequent neglect of the parish. At the very period of which we are speaking one rector of Manchester was absent from his cure for no less than eleven years. Some forty years after this Thomas la Warre, who was both lord of Manchester and rector of the parish, the baronial hall being his favourite residence, began to take into consideration the insufficiency of spiritual oversight in the large populous parish, the rectors of which had generally been non-resident and indifferent. Eventually, in 1421, he announced his intention of founding a college of clergy in connection with the parish church of Manchester, and endowing it with money, lands, and tenements, bestowing upon it his manor house, whose proximity to the church made it a convenient residence for the clergy of the new foundation.

The home of Thomas la Warre's college, the building now known as Chetham's Hospital and Library, still stands, complete in its essential features, in spite of structural alterations made to adapt it first as a residence for the Derby family, into whose hands it came in the sixteenth century, and then as

a home for Humphrey Chetham's Hospital and the famous library that bears his name.

The original entrance to the College was on the east, from Long Millgate, but the gateway now standing there dates only from 1816. Entering the large 'yard' now used as a playground by the boys of the foundation, we find on our right a long ⌐-shaped structure, with the principal porch at the angle. The bulk of the buildings still extant date from the fifteenth century, and there is no doubt that these occupy the site of the original baronial hall of the lords of Manchester. The long arm which we pass first on our right contains the kitchen and other offices, and the ancient guest house, now used as a dormitory for the boys. The shorter arm consists of a rectangular block of buildings surrounding a small cloistered quadrangle, on three sides of which (on the ground floor) were the living-rooms of the resident clergy, with dormitories above. The eastern part of this block, which is immediately on our left as we enter the building, consists of the Great Hall—the refectory alike of the College and of the more modern school—and the Feoffees' room. The pantry and buttery (on our right as we enter), are in their normal position. Above the Feoffees' room, what was formerly the Warden's room serves now as a reading-room for the Library, the treasures of which are stored in the dormitories of the priests, which have been thrown open for the purpose.

It was in 1421 that Thomas la Warre, whose claims as a benefactor are hardly sufficiently recognised (his statue finds a place on the façade of the Town Hall), endowed this college of priests, and inaugurated the building of a suitable residence for them on the site of his own manor-house. The curious form of the building may perhaps be explained by supposing that the original baron's hall stood where the quadrangle now is, overlooking the angle between Irk and Irwell; the long building that follows the course of the Irk joining it with the gatehouse at the entrance from Long Millgate. Some faint idea of the once commanding aspect of the building as seen from the north—crowning as it did the bold sandstone rock rising steeply from the Irk—may still be obtained by viewing it from Walker's Croft. This is not the place to enter into

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Chetham's Hospital : The Gateway.

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Chatham's Hospital : The Screens.

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minute architectural details. The principal feature is the quadrangle with cloisters. There is nothing now remaining earlier than 1422, and we cannot decide how much was built during the time of the founder. Some points of interest in the interior are the ceiling of the Feoffees' room; the kitchen, whose lofty roof has suggested (without sufficient evidence) that the room was once a minor baronial hall; the boys' dormitory, where the roof is also worthy of attention; and the Jacobean staircase. If, as is sometimes averred, the south wing of the Library was once a chapel, it was probably not till the place became a residence of the Derby family. The College, as constituted by La Warre, was to consist of one master or warden-chaplain, eight fellow-chaplains, four clerks, and six choristers.

The foundation of the College was the starting point for extensive alterations to the Parish Church, a noble building whose commanding position adds to its interest as the centre of the devotions and the dearest associations of Manchester people from Saxon times. We have already seen that it is probable that the earliest church occupied the site of what is now the Cathedral, but the only relic of any pre-conquest building is the "Angel stone" still preserved in the chapter-house. Originally (as we gather from Domesday Book) dedicated to St. Mary, this edifice was, at the time of the collegiation, rededicated as the Church of Our Lady, Saint George, and St. Denys, the inclusion of the last-named saint signalising the connection just then established between the thrones of England and France, St. Denys being the patron-saint of that country. This dedication still holds good for the Cathedral, as the building became in 1847; an effort in 1881 to replace the present structure by a modern cathedral met with no success.

Thomas la Warre, who was about eighty years of age when he founded the College, resigned his positon as Rector in order to give a free hand to the Warden. The first Warden of the College, John Huntingdon, set about the reconstruction of the church on a scale commensurate with its new dignity. The "rebus" of this warden, representing a "hunting" scene and a "tun" may still be seen on the west wall of the

Lady Chapel as well as in the roof of the choir. There were twenty-four wardens in all, the most famous being James Stanley, who afterwards became Bishop of Ely, William Chadderton, who became Bishop of Chester, John Dee, who acquired fame as a mathematician and an astrologer, and Richard Heyrick, of whom we shall hear later. With the creation of the See of Manchester in 1847, the office of Warden of the College was merged in that of the Dean.

The " Old Church " of Manchester, as it was affectionately called for so many years, like some other Lancashire churches, deviates from the cruciform plan with central tower (which may have been its original design), consisting, as it does, of nave and choir, with complete north and south aisles, a western tower, and nine chapels. These chapels, which lie north, east, and south of the main building, were formerly separated from it by screens, but the screens have now been removed to make room for a growing congregation, and the church has thus become double-aisled.

This is not the place to enter into a detailed discussion of the history of the building. There seems to be good evidence that a fine church stood here before 1300, but centuries of reconstruction and alteration have obscured its traces. Rebuilding took place about 1330, and some parts of the work then added still remain. The old west tower, possibly partly of fourteenth century date, was removed when the present tower, 139 feet high, was erected in 1864.

Warden Huntingdon (as his brass, now on the floor of the choir, records) is credited with building the choir and its aisles, but even before his time the length of the church was practically the same as it is to-day; it is now 220 feet long by 116 wide. The total length was increased in 1900 by the addition of the west porch. The exterior of the present building is entirely modern.

The various chantry chapels which surround the main building were constructed and endowed mainly in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, being generally the gift of wealthy local families, one of their objects being to maintain an adequate supply of clergy for the parish; with what success we may judge from the fact that just before the destruction of

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The Manchester Cathedral (from the north-west).

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Manchester Cathedral: The Quire, looking North-west.

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the college there appear to have been over thirty priests to serve a population of six thousand.

The fact that there are double aisles north and south of the nave makes the vista of pillars seen in a diagonal view of the interior very beautiful; looking back from the entrance to the Derby chapel, for example, we may count no less than five rows of columns. The most precious possession of the building, architecturally, will perhaps be the carved stalls in the choir. These, together with the beautiful choir screen, date from the wardenship of Bishop Stanley in 1485. The iron screens also are in some points unique. The wreaths along the top of the screens of the Derby chapel (whose inception was also due to Bishop Stanley) are described as "among the most exquisite pieces of carving in existence." The "Father Smith" organ, which dates from more than a century later, was in use down to 1872, when it was removed to the Ely chapel, where it now stands. The triple dedication of the church, already mentioned, was at one time symbolised by statues of the Virgin, St. George, and St. Denys.

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The college was founded in 1421, a century before the Reformation; during this century, therefore, the church was subject to Rome; indeed, a copy of the Papal Bull confirming the foundation of the college of priests, is still preserved. Although, however, many features of the college building are suggestive of the mediæval monastery, we must not think of this college of clergy as one of the priories or monasteries of that time. It was founded solely to provide a supply of clergy for the great parish of Manchester, but these clergy took no vows, and belonged to no special order. Hence it came about that when the Dissolution of the Monasteries took place in the reign of Henry the Eighth, the Manchester College was not interfered with. Henry had, however, cast his eye upon the colleges and chantries, and when Edward VI came to the throne, he was only carrying out the plan of his father when, in 1547, he dissolved the college, and confiscated the building, granting it to the Earl of Derby; a copy of the agreement hangs now in the Librarian's room. At the same time the tiny chapel on Salford Bridge seems to have been closed as a

chapel. By 1573, as the Court Leet Records show, it was in use as a Dungeon. Two centuries later it was removed, when the bridge was widened.

After its first dissolution the college had a somewhat chequered history. At that time over thirty clergy seem to have been attached. Pensions were granted to these, and the Earl of Derby used the college buildings as a residence, afterwards letting them at a rent to later wardens. Mary refounded the college in 1557, restoring some of its lands, but these were again confiscated in the following year. In 1578 Elizabeth restored the foundation under the new name of Christ's College; the repeated confiscations, however, had reduced the number of clergy from over thirty to less than a dozen. A new charter (drafted by Archbishop Laud) was deemed necessary in 1635, and although this fell into abeyance during the Commonwealth, it virtually remained in force till Manchester became a Bishopric in 1847, when the college was finally dissolved, and its warden became the Dean of Manchester. At the opening of the Civil War it was in the college building that the ten barrels of gunpowder were stored, the dispute about which led eventually to the siege of Manchester. Of the appropriation of the building for Humphrey Chetham's hospital we shall speak in the next chapter. It is worth noting in passing that the building is still sometimes called "the College," and occasionally, by a curious (and of course erroneous) combination, "Chetham's College."

It is interesting to think of the frequent changes in the character of the services at the parish church that may have been witnessed even in a single lifetime. Thus—if we choose as our example one of the small boys who attended Hugh Oldham's free school at its foundation—in his school days he would have seen mass celebrated regularly; miracle plays were performed, and we have good evidence that such pieces as Robin Hood were acted within the church. The people seem to have acquiesced quietly in the changes brought by the Reformation, and to have accepted Protestantism in its more advanced form in the reign of Edward VI. The accession of Mary restored the services of the Roman Catholic Church for a while, only to be succeeded immediately after her death by

From the Collection of the late Fletcher Moss.] Recess in the Dining Hall: Chetham's Hospital.

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Manchester Cathedral (from the south).

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the Puritanical observances of Elizabeth's reign. All these changes may easily have taken place within the lifetime of one Grammar School boy. Of the later Presbyterian influences we shall speak in another chapter.

One other detail in the history of this famous church must not be omitted. The Manchester Church was one of seven in the country which were allowed to be "places of privilege" for "all and singular malefactors"; in other words, the church was one of the places where a criminal could claim "right of sanctuary." As this questionable distinction drew to its neighbourhood a number of undesirable characters, it proved a great inconvenience to a town with a growing trade. It is not easy now to define exactly the bounds within which exemption might be claimed; but the danger was greater because yarns were then bleached by exposure to the air, and woollen cloths were dried in the same way. Valuable goods thus lying in the open day and night offered temptation to roving criminals, and it was avowedly for this reason that in the year 1541 the privilege of sanctuary, which had proved injurious to good order, was transferred to Chester.

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Apart from the private chapel of the Radcliffe family at Ordsall, Salford does not seem to have had any place of worship till Trinity Chapel was built in 1635 by the munificence of Salford's great benefactor, Humphrey Booth; though there is mention of a "Chaplain of Salford" as early as 1323. The surveyors of 1650 recommended that Trinity Chapel should be made a parish church for the township. The "Old Church," now the Cathedral, remained the sole place of worship in Manchester (with the exception of Cross Street Chapel) till St. Ann's Church was built in 1708.

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The very successful celebration of the quincentenary of the Collegiation is still fresh in our memories; the details are fully recorded in the memorial volume issued in 1922.

CHAPTER XIII.

Pioneers in Education.

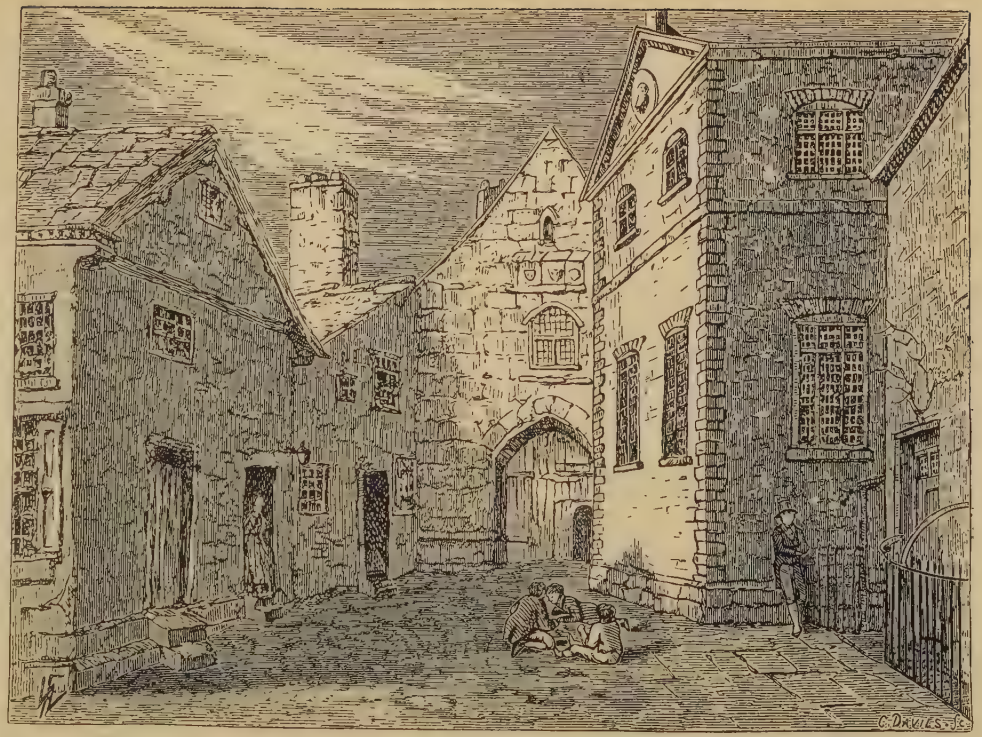
Upon the collegiation of the Manchester church follow naturally, and in less than a century, the earliest educational foundations. Already in the town there was arising a class of merchants who drew their wealth from the growing trade. By these merchants a number of the chantries of the collegiate church were founded, and among them a certain Richard Beswick, having endowed, in the Jesus chapel, a chantry for two priests, assigned as a duty to one of them the keeping of a free school. This would appear to be the earliest educational foundation in Manchester, and we may now turn from it to the more famous institution which sprang from the thoughtfulness and munificence of Richard Beswick's brother-in-law, Hugh Oldham.

The date and place of the birth of this famous pioneer in education are not certainly known. In his earlier years he formed one of a small group of "certayne young gentilmen" who were educated at Lathom House, "at the findyng" of the Countess of Derby who by her first marriage became the mother of Henry the Seventh. It is not to be supposed that the tutelage provided by this famous "Lady Margaret Tudor" would err on the progressive side, for liberal and pious as she undoubtedly was, so that "it would fill a volume to recount her good deeds," her leanings were towards preserving the church from the Renaissance spirit which was already looming on the horizon. After holding a great number of benefices, one of which was the living of Swineshead in Lincolnshire, already mentioned, Oldham became, in 1504, Bishop of Exeter.

It was in the year following the foundation of Corpus Christi College, Oxford (the first distinctly Renaissance college established there, to which Oldham contributed liberally) that he turned his attention to the needs of the boys of his native county. The words of the statutes of his

foundation are now very familiar; they are not the less interesting as showing the clear and progressive aim of the man. The children of Lancashire, he sees, "having pregnant wit, have been for the most part brought up rudely and idly," partly through poverty, partly also because there was no one to teach them. The boy, he sees, is father to the man, and "the key and ground to have good people" lie in "the bringing up of children in their adolescence," "whereby they may the better know, love, honour, and dread, God and His laws." The aim being thus defined, the means for attaining it he deemed to lie in "grammar," which is "the ground and fountain of all the other liberal arts and sciences," "the gate by which all others are learned and known." The education is to be free, and open to "any scholar or infant, of what country or shire so ever he be." We may smile to-day as we read that the teaching was to be modelled on the methods then in vogue at Banbury.

Thus in 1515, six years after Dean Colet founded St. Paul's School, Hugh Oldham "for the good mind that he had to the county of Lancashire, considering the bringing up in learning, virtues, and good manners children in the same country" founded the "Free Grammar School" of Manchester. Before his death in 1519 he had provided a home for his school (a copy of the contractor's bill hangs to-day in the school office), the site being carefully identified by the fact that "a stone chimney" lay on the eastern side of the building. The statutes, which enter into minute details of administration, have often been quoted. The remuneration for the two scholars who cleaned the school (it was expressly stipulated that the building should be "kept honest and cleanly, as it beseemeth a school, and that after the cleanest manner") was derived from an entrance fee of one penny per pupil. The school was to be closed in case of an epidemic of an infectious disease. The masters were to claim no perquisite, not even "cock-penny," nor "potation penny" (the latter being a tax paid by the boys of the schools of that time to enable the master to give an entertainment). The masters were allowed twenty days' holiday a year "to sport themselves"; as both masters were not to take their holidays at the same time it



[*Block lent by the Royal Exchange Assurance Co.*

Manchester Free Grammar School.

The Building shewn here (on the right) replaced Hugh Oldham's first school in 1776. It was not demolished till 1880, when it made room for the Gymnasium buildings. In the centre is the old gateway of Chetham's Hospital. This was rebuilt in 1816. Hugh Oldham's School is shewn on another page.

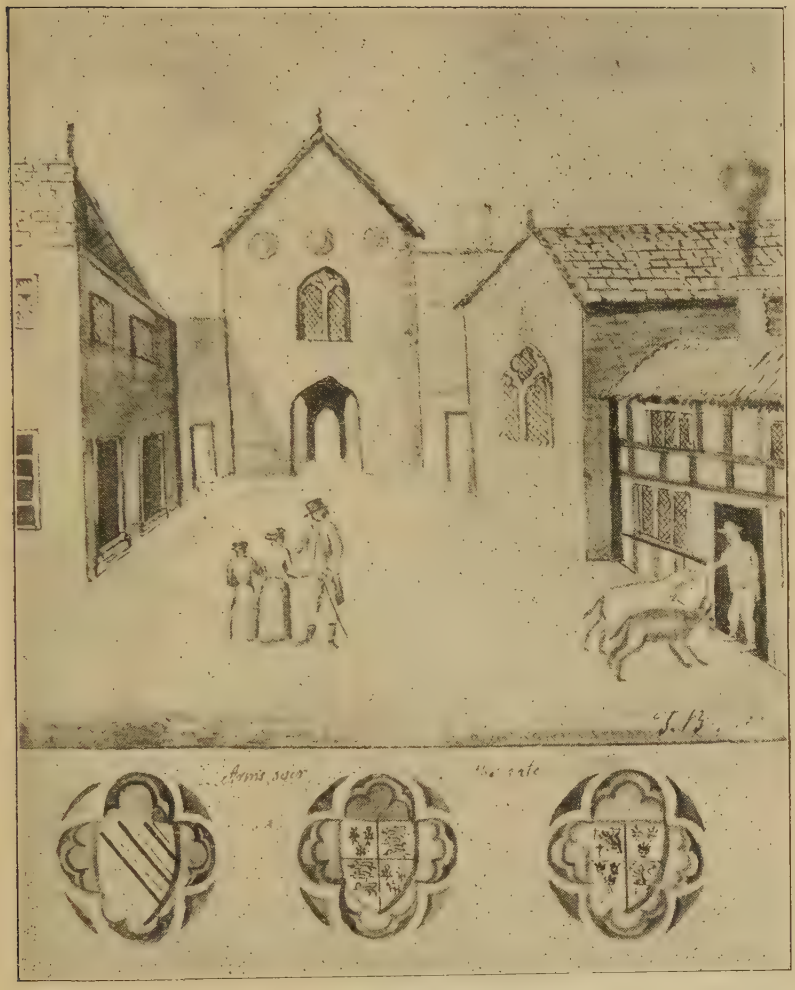
may be inferred that there were no holidays for the boys (a much later record, however, asserts that "afternoons of Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday are half-holidays, and are devoted to mathematics"); there is even a pension scheme, providing for the time when the masters would be "of such age that they may not conveniently teach." Moreover, there was not only comparative security of tenure, but the "usher" was led to hope that he too might become "high master" in his turn. The problem of teaching the juniors their alphabet was solved by the adoption of the monitorial system. The school opened at six a.m. in summer, and the scholars were not to bring with them "any dagger or weapon invasive"; they were forbidden to assault the masters or to take part in cock-fighting. The oral method appears in the recommendation that all scholars versed in grammar (note the condition) should "use and speak their Latin tongue within the school and all other places convenient." It must be remembered that before the Reformation the church service was conducted in Latin. Even in their recreation the boys are to "play honest games, and convenient for youth, and all together, and in one place, to use their Latin tongue."

The minute detail of these statutes reveals the thoroughness with which Bishop Oldham entered into the scheme that has immortalised his name; it is truly remarkable, moreover, to find how many questions which educationists would consider of quite modern date, were foreseen and provided for by this enthusiast more than four centuries ago. Even more remarkable, perhaps, is the foresight which led him to insert a clause giving to the feoffees "full powers and authority to augment, increase, expound, and reform all the said acts, ordinances, articles, compositions, and agreements," because in the future "many things may grow," which at the foundation "were not possible to come to mind." Many things *have* grown, and much has transpired, that was not possible to come to mind in the good Bishop's days; much, indeed, that happened before he had been many years in his grave proved how far-sighted he had been. In accordance with one of the statutes, his name is still daily remembered with reverence at the School that he founded.

The indentures, which are somewhat confused, need not detain us; the responsibility was largely placed upon Oldham's chaplain, Hugh Beswick, and his mother Joan. A large part of the endowment consisted of the three neighbouring mills on the Irk, where all the grain and malt used within the limits of the manor must needs be ground. The dispute which grew out of this situation has already been mentioned. Incidentally, the pressure brought to bear to compel people to use the mills accounts for the fact that the great breweries of Manchester lie outside the township.

* * * * *

The schoolhouse which Hugh Oldham built is described as "joining the College of Manchester." We have a representation of it in one of Thomas Barritt's quaint sketches. Although we are once more anticipating in the matter of dates, this seems to be the proper place to say that within less than a century and a half the College itself had become the site of another famous foundation; as in the former case, so this also was the outcome of the beneficent and affectionate interest of a great man in the youth of his native place. Humphrey Chetham, born at Crumpsall Hall in 1580, and bound at the age of seventeen an apprentice for seven years, had amassed considerable wealth, and among other charitable works had "taken up and maintained" a number of poor boys from the Manchester district. Five years before his death he privately explained to a correspondent a scheme which he had in his mind for purchasing the College building and forming there a "hospital" for poor boys. The College buildings had fallen upon evil times. Built in 1422 upon the site of the old manor-house, they continued to be the residence of the warden and fellows till 1547, when the collegiate body was dissolved, and the building passed into the hands of the Earl of Derby. When the seventh Earl was executed at Bolton in 1651, the property was seized by the Parliament. How ruinous its condition now was may be gathered from Chetham's letter just mentioned. "It hath been a prison a long time," he writes, ". . . . is become noisome and filthy . . . . . Some of the roof is blown off and some is fallen off, so that it is become uninhabitable." The negotiations for the



Copied by R. H. Fletcher from a quaint sketch by Thomas Barritt (1743—1820).]

Hugh Oldham's Free Grammar School.

(Engaged in copying the armorial bearings over the College Gateway, Barritt unwittingly gave us (on the right) the only sketch we have of the First Grammar School.)

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The Statue of Humphrey Chetham in Manchester Cathedral.

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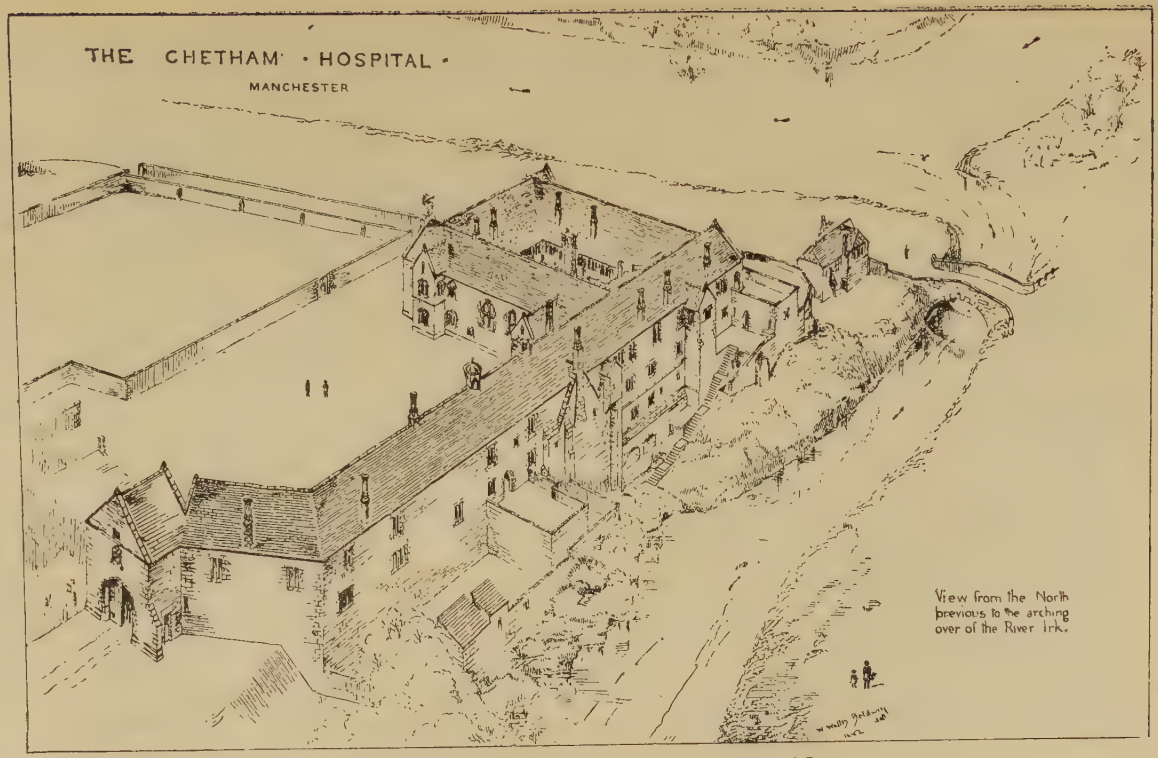

Copied by R. H. Fletcher from Taylor's Old Halls of Lancashire (by permission).]

Bird's-eye view of Chetham's Hospital.
(The Cloister Court of the old College is well shewn.)

purchase fell through in Chetham's time, but were renewed by his executors, and on August 24, 1656, three years after his death, his little pensioners were moved into their new quarters, which had been duly renovated. During the nearly three centuries that have elapsed, more than four thousand boys have passed through the institution, and built up a tradition which would surely not have disappointed the pious founder. His will made ample provision for their "relief, maintenance, education, bringing up, and binding apprentice, or other preferment." To the twenty-two boys who were already dependent upon his bounty eighteen between the ages of six and ten were to be added, the stipulation being that they should be the children of "honest, industrious, and painful parents, not of wandering or idle beggars or rogues." They must, further, not be suffering from any physical disability. The boys were to be "well and sufficiently maintained" up to the age of fourteen (let us not omit to note that this is the limit at last reached by the great Education Act of 1918), and then "provided for." If the funds allowed, the number of boys was to be increased. The number has, as a matter of fact, since risen to a hundred.

In his will Chetham clearly expressed a wish that the College should be the site of his hospital, and he left, besides, £1,000 for a library within the town of Manchester, "for the use of scholars and others well affected," which he wished should also be housed in the College; the books to be "chained as well as may be."

This famous institution, which now contains some 70,000 books and manuscripts, claims to be the first free public library established in this country. According to a wish expressed in the founder's will, both hospital and library were incorporated by Royal charter in 1665.

* * * * *

Less than forty years after the death of Humphrey Chetham another educational bequest was made by a Manchester man which, though somewhat narrow in scope at the outset, has had far-reaching results. By the last testament of William Hulme, who died in 1691, certain fields and meadows were left in trust to maintain "four of the poorest sort of

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Crumpsall Hall.

Here Humphrey Chetham was born in 1580.

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Clayton Hall: with Moat.
(Here Humphrey Chetham died in 1653.)

Batchelors of Arts taking such degree in Brasenose College in Oxford, as from time to time should resolve to continue, and reside there by the space of four years, next after such degree taken." At the outset the bequest amounted to £16 a year for each of the pensioners, but the value of the property increased so rapidly that the trustees had recourse to Parliament no less than six times for powers to enable them to extend the scope of the charity. In a single half century the endowment produced over £200,000. Not only has the number of exhibitioners been greatly increased and the grants to them have been augmented, but the proceeds of the trust have been applied to the foundation of "Hulme" Grammar Schools at Manchester, Bury and Oldham, as well as the Hulme Hall of Residence at the University; to purchase advowsons to which the exhibitioners might be presented; and to make annual grants to various educational institutions, notably the University and the Manchester High School for Girls. So much has grown out of William Hulme's modest desire to endow post-graduate study.

Hulme resided sometimes at Hulme Hall, Reddish, sometimes at Withingreave Hall, Manchester. An advertisement dated as late as 1763 seems to indicate that Withingreave Hall was situated near the top of Shudehill. The name evidently survives in the street-name Withy Grove, and tradition (apparently there is no evidence available) suggests that in the curious black and white building known as the "Rover's Arms," which is to be seen to-day near the top of Shudehill, we may have some remains of the residence or its outbuildings.

* * * * *

In this chapter we have anticipated events, in order to link the bequest of Humphrey Chetham with that of Hugh Oldham. Each was the outcome of a benevolent disposition brooding over the needs of the youth of the time; in each case the subsequent success of the institution has been largely due to the far-sighted genius of the founder, as evidenced in the details of the original schemes. *Sic illi non sibi.* We must now return to take up the thread where we dropped it in the middle of the fifteenth century.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Results of the Reformation.

The middle of the fifteenth century, in the history of England, is usually identified with the barren struggle known as the Wars of the Roses. This contest, however, in spite of the fact that the county was nominally in support of the Lancastrian dynasty, left little mark upon Manchester and Salford. The baron of Manchester at that period was Sir Richard West, and he is said to have received, in the reign of Henry VI, some recognition of his services to that monarch's party. We have records of a rising of the commons of Lancashire and Cheshire in 1464, in support of the Duke of Somerset's rebellion; in the following year the Warden of the Manchester College is said to have been deprived of his wardenship by Edward IV, in consequence of his Lancastrian leanings; and in 1470 we have a picture of the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick, fleeing before Edward, coming to Manchester in hope of assistance from Lord Stanley; the laconic report concludes: they "had little support and left hurriedly."

The Stanleys of Lathom were now gradually coming into prominence in the county; their partisanship in these troubled and confused times was somewhat wanting in stability, and we must not forget that it was Lord Stanley who picked up the battered Crown as it fell from the head of Richard III at Bosworth Field, and placed it on the head of Henry Richmond; and that for his support on this occasion he was made Earl of Derby. His first wife had been a Yorkist, sister to Warwick the King-maker; his second consort was the Lady Margaret Tudor, mother of Henry VII. This marriage brought Lancashire into prominent connection with the Court, and when, in 1495, the King paid a visit to his mother at Lathom House, Manchester lay on the route of the Royal Progress, and received her first visit from a reigning sovereign.

From this time onward the name of Derby occurs frequently in the local history; the family had a residence in Manchester; they even for a time occupied the college building; one member of the family acted as steward of the Court Leet; less than a century later another is seen conducting the siege of Manchester in the Civil War.

From a rental of the manor of Manchester probably dating from the end of the fifteenth century we learn that in addition to "socage" tenants and knights' fees there were in the town at that time 150 burgesses.

With the opening of the sixteenth century we are confronted with the great religious changes implied in the Reformation. Manchester was not at first seriously convulsed by these changes. We have seen that before they came its inhabitants were loyal to the Church as it then stood, and that the more wealthy of them were not slow to bestow some of their riches on the parish. As we shall presently find, the town was prospering commercially. The suppression of the monasteries brought no immediate change, and even when the reformed doctrines were introduced, they seem to have been accepted quietly by the people and the clergy. "Silently, almost unconsciously, England became Protestant." One subsidiary result was that the Parish of Manchester, which for six centuries had been attached to the diocese of Lichfield, was now (in 1540) included in the newly-formed see of Chester.

The new doctrines were disseminated largely by the work of preachers, prominent among whom is one John Bradford, a native of Manchester and *alumnus* of its Free Grammar School, who was ordained deacon by Bishop Ridley in 1550, and appointed chaplain to King Edward VI in 1553. Two years later, at the time of the Marian persecution, he was tried as a heretic before Gardiner and Bonner, and burnt at Smithfield. In Manchester he is commemorated by a statue at one angle of the Town Hall.

Even the rising in the north known as the Pilgrimage of Grace attracted little attention, though a number of the offenders were hanged at Manchester; but the action of the Great Council of the north instituted in the following year was distinctly resented. If, however, the immediate results of the

Reformation in Manchester are negligible, its after effects are more marked. From the middle of the sixteenth century the loyalty to the Church which we have had occasion to notice, and the absence of schism, gave place to religious differences which for centuries played a very important part in the history of the town.

We have seen that in the time of Edward VI the seeds of the new doctrines were watered by the preaching of men like Bradford the Manchester martyr. The first result of the cleavage produced by the Reformation was the isolation of the Roman Catholics, or "Recusants," as they were then called. These included some of the well-to-do families in the neighbourhood of Manchester. The secret work of Popish missionaries fostered the resentment of these adherents of the Romish Church, and by the year 1574 Lancashire was described as "the very sink of Popery, where more unlawful acts have been committed and more unlawful persons kept secret than in any other part of the realm." One of these Jesuit missions was actually led by Vaux, a former Warden of the Manchester College. As the result of a second rising in the north in 1569, Earl Derby received orders to arrest all persons suspected of Papist leanings; these Recusant prisoners were interned at Manchester; and in 1584 the heads of two of those who were executed were exhibited on the church tower.

All this is abundantly illustrated by the story of one of the well-known local families. As we walk along Barlow Moor Road towards Chorlton we see on our left across the fields the fine old manor-house of Barlow Hall, now the golf-house of the Chorlton links. Barlow Hall was the residence of Sir Robert Barlow as early as the reign of Edward I. At the time of the Reformation the family remained stedfast to the old creed, and several members suffered persecution. Perhaps the most famous was Edward Barlow, known afterwards as Father Ambrose, who was born at Barlow Hall in 1585, educated abroad, and finally sent as a popish missionary to work in his native county. His zeal brought him eventually to the scaffold, and his memoir contains a graphic account of his arrest. It is there stated that a neighbouring clergyman proposed to his congregation

From the Collection of the late Fletcher Moss.]

Courtyard of Barlow Hall.

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Copied by R. H. Fletcher from Thomas Barritt's quaint sketch.]

Newton Lane (now Oldham Road) at New Cross, as it was in the year 1754.

in church that they should at once proceed in a body to the place where "that noted Popish priest Barlow" was addressing an assembly of Roman Catholics, and apprehend him. This was actually carried out, the surpliced vicar leading the attack in person.

In the very year of the Armada a rumour that Papists were marching on the town led the inhabitants of Manchester to "betake themselves to such arms as they had." The very year of the Armada, moreover, witnessed an incident which showed that the extreme Puritans were no better pleased with the Government than the Roman Catholics. It was in 1588 that the series of pamphlets bearing the name of Martin Marprelate appeared, their aim being criticism of the political and ecclesiastical measures of the Government of the day. One section of this press was detected in Manchester, in Newton Lane (now Oldham Road), and promptly seized. The event gives us the first record of printing in Manchester (we have, however, to wait for more than a century and a half for the first Manchester newspaper). It marks also the dissatisfaction felt by the advanced Puritans at the restrictions laid upon them by such statutes as the Act of Uniformity, and their resentment at the evident determination of the Queen to have her way in such matters. Elizabeth's campaign against the Roman Catholics was one of the chief events of the period; she waged a minor war against the Puritans, disliking their independence of thought and objection to episcopalian restraints.

The fear of a foreign invasion, however, was electrifying the country, and Lancashire was not slow to respond to the call for volunteers. Indeed the county ranked second only to Middlesex in this respect. The years preceding the culmination of the struggle were anxious times for the country, and "musters" (the enrolling of recruits) were frequent in the Palatinate. More than three hundred years later, in 1915, it was a Derby who called for volunteers to arm against another foreign menace. It was a Derby also who raised the standard in Lancashire in Elizabeth's time, calling upon every man to arm in defence of "country, liberty, wife, children, lands, life, and the true religion." It was the same Derby who, on the

defeat of the Armada, wrote to Sir John Byron, his deputy lieutenant, and to the Salford justices, bidding them give orders for a public service of prayer and thanksgiving for their great deliverance.

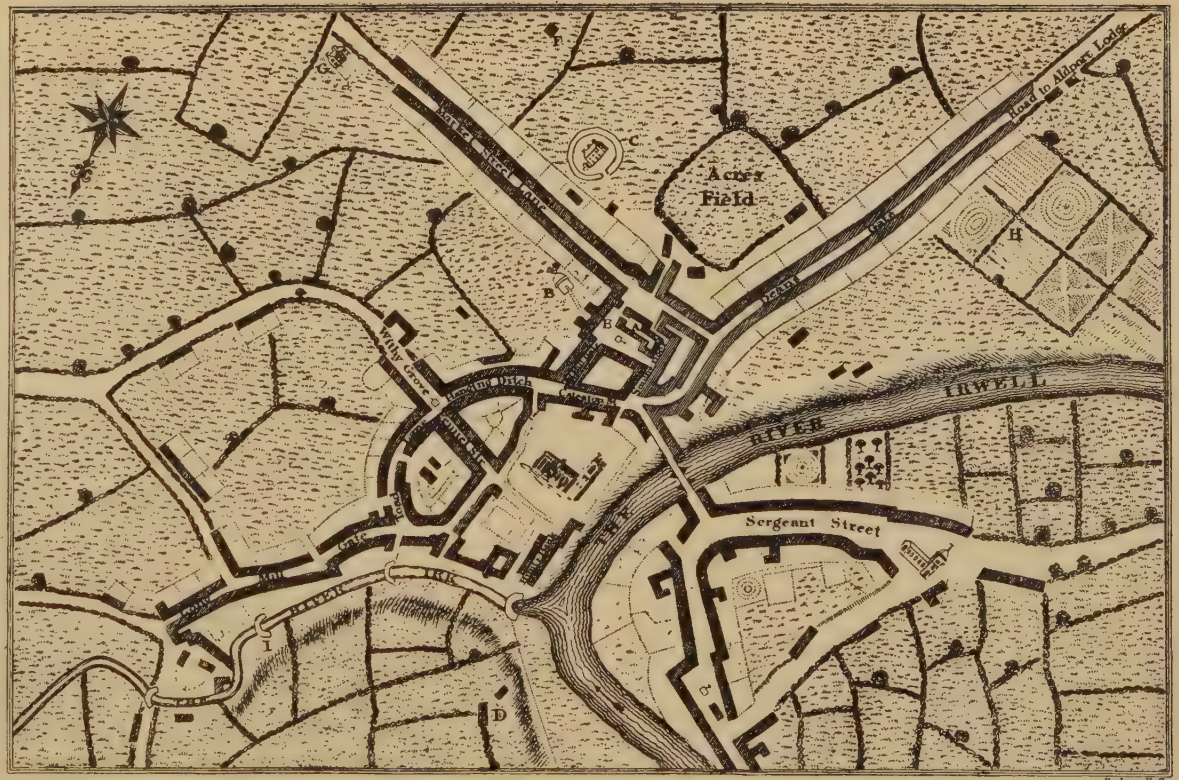
Points on the Lancashire hills and on the coast were marked with beacons, and the population of Manchester and Salford furnished their full complement of men. The Hundred of Salford, a few years earlier, had sent "60 furnished and 72 unfurnished archers, 294 furnished billmen and 309 unfurnished, 354 armed and 381 unarmed soldiers." Manchester, in the year of the Armada, was assessed at "38 arquebussiers, as many archers, and 144 bill and pike men; forming nearly one-tenth of the total contingent for the county." Such musters were common events in Lancashire for years. There was the war in Scotland; there was the danger of the Recusants in the county rising in favour of Mary Stuart; there was—even after the defeat of the Armada—a call for troops to meet the danger in Ireland.

The foreign menace disappeared, but the struggle with the Puritans of Lancashire continued. Puritan doctrines were growing in favour among the Protestant gentry. Among the signatures to a protest against the desecration of the Sabbath, issued about this time, appear the two familiar names of John Byron and Edmund Trafford. A better time, it was hoped, would dawn for the Puritans with the accession of the first of the Stuart kings. It was largely the disappointment of these hopes that led eventually, as we shall see, to the estrangement of the Puritans of Lancashire from that dynasty in the seventeenth century.

* * * * *

It was during the period contemplated in this chapter that Leland the Antiquary visited Manchester. We may therefore fitly conclude with a reference to that part of his archæological tour. Writing, as we may suppose, about 1540, he tells, in his quaint language, how he enters Lancashire by Crosford Bridge, "a great bridge of timber," and in the next three miles passes a number of parks and residences, before crossing the Cornbrook and the Medlock and entering Manchester. This he describes as "standing in Salfordshire, the fairest,

best-builded, quickest, and most populous town of all Lancastershire; yet is in it but one parish church, but is a college." He finds a bridge of three arches linking it with its "large suburb," Salford, and on this bridge "a pretty little chapel." The "fair-builded college" stands "as in the very point of the mouth of the Irk"; on which river are "divers fair mills that serve the town"; which has "two fair market places." The town itself stands on "a hard rock of stone"; otherwise "Irwell had been noisome" to it. Turning, lastly, to the remains of the Roman fort, he writes: "Almost two flight shots without the town, beneath on the same side of Irwell, yet be seen the dykes and foundations of old Mancastle, in a place now enclosed."



A PLAN OF MANCHESTER & SALFORD, TAKEN ABOUT 1650.

Drawn from a Plan in the possession of Will.m Yates Esq.r by John Palmer Arch.t 1822

References
A *Sessions House*
B *Cock Pit*
C *Radcliffe Hall*
D *Mr Knowles House*
E *Meal House*
F *Fountain*
G *Mr. Levers House*
H *New Gardens*
I *Tanner Bridge*

[*Block lent by Messrs. Sherratt & Hughes.*

CHAPTER XV.

A Walk Round the Oldest Streets of Manchester and Salford.

We are now approaching the period of the Great Civil war, in which Manchester and Salford, taking opposite sides, were to play so important a part. In order to understand the story we must first get a clear conception as to the extent to which the two towns had grown and the conditions of life in them. For this purpose, fortunately, we have ample material, first in a plan of the streets published about that time, and secondly in the detailed records of the two local courts, to which we shall refer in the next chapter.

There are many old plans of Manchester and Salford; for our present purpose we may confine ourselves to one only, bearing the date 1650, this being the oldest known. Practically all the streets named in this plan of 1650 still persist, at least in name, and the following itinerary will give us some idea of the then extent of the two towns.

Which is the oldest street in Manchester? The earliest of which we have any record is Long Millgate, mentioned in 1300; as this led past the lord's mill it must have existed from very early times. But as Chester Road and Deansgate probably occupy approximately the line of the Roman road that ran in a north-easterly direction past the Roman fort at Castlefield, they probably represent the oldest thoroughfare.

Let us, taking the map of 1650 in our hand, start from the vicinity of the Roman fort, the most ancient part of Manchester of which we have any reliable record. In the middle of the seventeenth century, the period we are now considering, the lower part of Deansgate was called Allport Lane; the upper part was flanked on both sides by burgesses' dwellings, with plots of land behind. Beyond these, on either hand, stretched fields and gardens, the names of Dolefield and Ridgefield

being suggestive in this connection. If, then, we imagine ourselves walking in 1640 along Deansgate (the name occurs as early as 1395, but no satisfactory explanation of it seems possible), we pass on our left the Parsonage Croft, mentioned in 1635, in the charter of the then newly constituted college, as containing two acres; here was probably the residence of the clergy of the college (note the present street-name "College Land" at the Parsonage end of Deansgate Arcade); beyond this we pass between rows of tenements to the junction with what is now, and was then, St. Mary's Gate. Turning to the right we find, where Exchange Street now is, a narrow entry through the houses to the site of the present St. Ann's Square, then an open cornfield, and the scene, after harvest, of the annual fair. On our left, standing where the Market place now is, are the Sessions house, the Market Cross, the Pillory, and the Stocks. Near by, in Conduit Place, is the "Conduit" from which the townspeople obtain their supply of water, though we shall see town-pumps in Deansgate, Hanging Ditch, and elsewhere. The Conduit is supplied from springs in the vicinity of the present Spring Gardens and Fountain Street. St. Mary's Gate is continued eastwards along the line of the present Market Street, under the name of Market Stead Lane, towards the Daubholes, in what is now Piccadilly, but the houses run out before this is reached. Here is a pond which was perhaps periodically the scene of the ducking of offending women by means of the cucking-stool, though this ceremony seems also to have been performed in Poolfold, near the present Chapel Walks. On our left, as we approach the Daubholes pond, stands Mr. Lever's house, opposite to the present Mosley Street; the name is preserved in the Lever Street of to-day.

Returning to Deansgate, we follow its line till it joins the road ascending from the old (now Victoria) bridge across the Irwell. The broad street that now runs between the Cathedral and the river did not then exist. Instead, we see the rugged sandstone rocks of the river-bank (in later years covered with houses stretching right down to the water's edge). At the bridge there is a flight of steps leading to the river. Ascending from these steps, by Smithy Bank, we pass from Deansgate into what is now Cateaton Street (the name occurs first in

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Bird's-eye view of Manchester and Salford about 1650.
Photographed (by permission) from the model made by Mr. H. Yates.

Photo by W. Ellis.] [*Block lent by the L. and C. Antiq. Soc.*

The Shaft of Hyde's Cross, now in the yard of Chetham's Hospital. (The inscription near the top is "W.H. 1653. M.B.")

1731), which is flanked on the left by a deep channel, known as Hanging Ditch, then serving mainly as a common open drain or sewer. A bridge on our left crosses this ditch into the churchyard; this bridge still exists *in situ*, built-in underneath the passage now called Hanging Bridge Passage; it was exposed and photographed as recently as 1893; and it is mentioned as early as 1343. The present Victoria Street was then represented by a passage known as Smithy Door; the name persisted till Victoria Street was constructed about the year 1875. We follow the line of Cateaton Street by the side of the Hanging Ditch (passing Old Mealgate and the Cockpit on our right), till it sweeps round the curve at present called Hanging Ditch, and brings us to Hyde's Cross, which stood at the entrance to Withy Grove. Both Hyde's Cross and Withy Grove still persist as street-names, and the Cockpit is commemorated by the Cockpit Hill of to-day, a narrow alley which runs from Corporation Street towards the Market Place. The line of Corporation Street, which is quite a modern thoroughfare, did not then exist. The houses continue for a short way up Shudehill, where also is the Pinfold, where cattle were impounded, and then we find ourselves among the fields, between which we may wander along "the way that leadeth unto Ancoats," afterwards to become Great Ancoats Street; or turn up the broad Newton Lane, now Oldham Road.

Returning to Hyde's Cross, which is said to have formed part of the "Sanctuary" of a century before, we find a straight way known as Fennel Street running west which dies out between the College and the churchyard. To this street, along the low north wall of the churchyard, much of the minor marketing was transferred (the site was known as the Apple Market) when the Market Place became overcrowded. Here we may pause for a moment to look first at the Old Church, which, differing little in external appearance from the Cathedral of to-day, crowns the slight eminence to the south; while to the north we look across gardens to what Leland described as the "fair-builded College." In all essential features it stood as it stands to-day. It was then a residence of the Derby family, and was to play its part in the civil war to which we are coming. In a few years it had fallen

into the ruinous condition described in Humphrey Chetham's letter quoted above.

From Hyde's Cross Toad Lane—now Todd Street—winds round into Long Millgate. Once in Long Millgate, we may turn to the left, and so reach the Collegiate Church once more, passing the corn mills, Hugh Oldham's Free School, and the entrance to the College, on our way; or, turning to the right, we may wind along the east (or left) bank of the Irk, and crossing this river at Scotland Bridge (Leland mentions "divers stone bridges in the town"), pass along Red Bank into the fields once more. Finally, returning to the apple-market, at the north wall of the churchyard, we may by a narrow route make our way down Hunt's Bank to another bridge, and so walk on towards Strangeways.

We have now traversed practically all the streets that existed in Manchester at the time that the Civil War broke out. Those of Salford were fewer still. Crossing the old (now Victoria) bridge, and bearing to the right, we see Greengate in front of us, as now, with its famous hostelry, the Bull's Head, which still remains. Greengate brings us to the market-place, the village Green, the Courthouse, the Pillory, and the Stocks; for Salford was under a separate court, and had its own instruments of punishment. At the end of Greengate we turn to the left along Gravel Lane, which leads into Lower Gate ("Lrat" in the Court Leet records), later known as Serjeant Street, a fragment of what is now Chapel Street; this, if we turn to the left, will bring us back once more to the bridge. No other street is marked on the map of 1650, and this little triangle, surrounded by fields, appears again on a map dated just a century later. In the Court Leet records of the period it is interesting to find named, among other fields, Oldfield, High Oldfield, and Little Oldfield.

Incidentally, our itinerary has shown us that for an attack upon the town there lay open to an enemy three main approaches—across the Old Bridge, up Deansgate, and down Market Stead Lane. The plan we have just been considering will therefore help us materially when we come in a moment to the story of the siege of Manchester.

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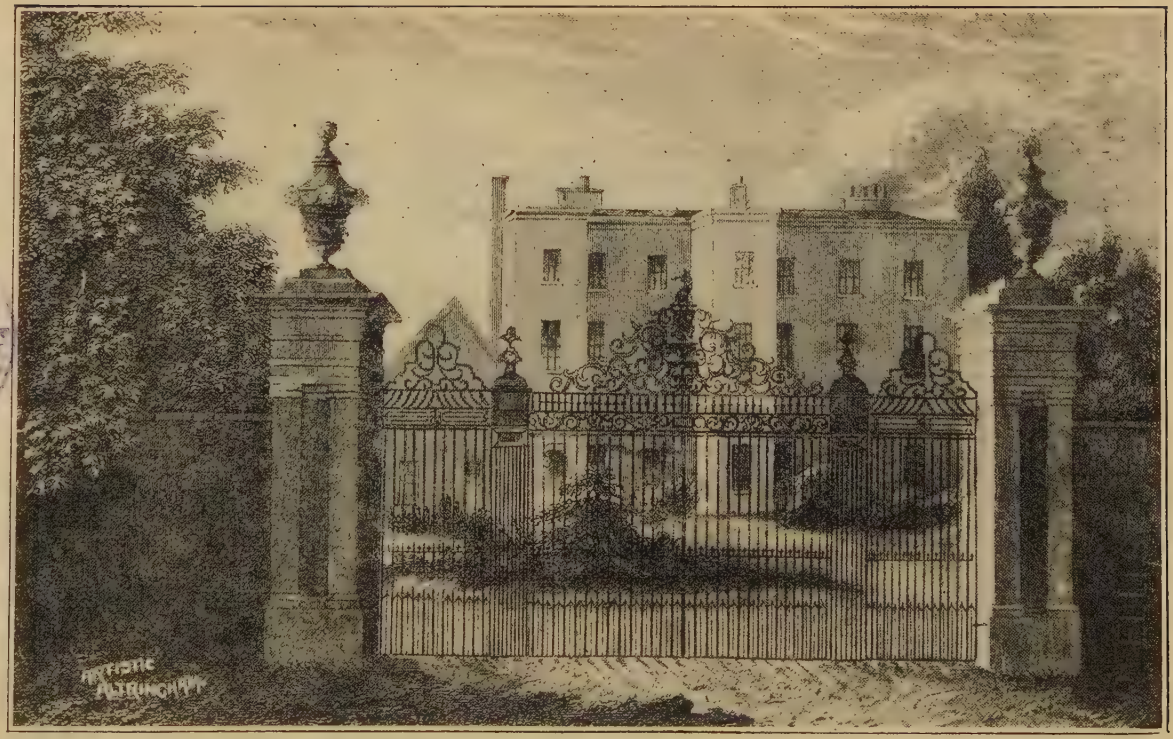
View on the Irwell at Sandywell, Salford.



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Strangeways Hall. Formerly the residence of the Ducie family.

(The gates were presented to Salford by Earl Ducie in 1858, and now form one of the entrances to Peel Park.)

Besides the house of Mr. Lever, already mentioned, the map in question shows Radcliffe Hall, near the present Chapel Walks, and Knowles's house in Strangeways, which evidently represents Strangeways Hall. There were other residences in the immediate vicinity. At the lower end of Deansgate (the site cannot be indicated precisely) was Alport Lodge, in Alport Park, once a residence of the Derby family; further south, on the other side of the river, lay the fine manor-house of Ordsall; there was also the Garratt, a residence of the Traffords, situated where the railway to-day crosses Brook Street; and "the way that leadeth unto Ancoats" led then, as now, to Ancoats Hall. Perhaps we should add Hulme Hall, standing on a red sandstone rock overlooking the Irwell just below the point where the Medlock joins it. Further afield, the place-names alone are sufficient to testify to the rural and even wild aspect of the surrounding country. The wooded areas known as Blackley, Collyhurst, Bradford, and Openshaw, were no doubt partially cleared by that time, and Collyhurst was the recognised place for the feeding of the burgesses' swine. Barlow Moor (on which Barlow Hall stood then as now), Newton Heath, and Chorlton Heath still preserve the names of the surrounding moors, and Moss Side of the moss, that stretched southwards through Rusholme and Withington, and supplied the inhabitants with peat.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Court Leet Records.

To obtain a vivid picture of life in the two little towns whose streets we have just enumerated we may turn to the records of the Courts whose business it was, for centuries, to watch over their well-being. The Courts that are now held here include, among others, separate County Courts for Manchester and Salford, as well as the Salford Hundred Court of Record; separate Police Courts for Manchester and Salford; separate Quarter Sessions for Manchester and Salford, as well as for Salford Hundred; the Court of Chancery of the County Palatine; and (since 1866) the Manchester Assizes. In early times, when Manchester was a mere country town, a great part of the business of these courts was transacted at the county town of Lancaster. At the opening of the fourteenth century, when Manchester obtained her charter as a town, there must have been two courts, the Court Baron (which combined the criminal jurisdiction of the Court Leet with the civil jurisdiction of the lord's feudal court), and the Portmoot or Town's Court. Quarter Sessions followed later. Of the Feudal Court and the Portmoot we have spoken in an earlier chapter. The Court Leet, originally a Court of the Hundred (the word "leet" means "district") would be of earlier date than either, but we have no records of it till the middle of the sixteenth century, by which time the Court Baron and Portmoot had, for convenience, been amalgamated, and sat together. The proceedings of this joint Court in Manchester have been preserved, with some short breaks, from 1552 to 1846, when the Court ceased to exist. In these records it is described as the "Court with view of Frank pledge," but once (in September, 1562) it is styled the "Portmoot." The extant proceedings of the Salford Portmoot only cover the period from 1597 to 1669. All these records (the originals of which are preserved) have been carefully edited and published. They form a rich storehouse upon which we may draw almost

indefinitely for illustrations of the life of the period. Here want of space precludes more than the merest outline.

Though nominally exercising a much wider jurisdiction, these courts, as a matter of fact, dealt almost entirely with the affairs of the two small towns. Each Court Leet was presided over by the lord's steward, an office held for a number of years in Manchester by representatives of the Trafford and Derby families; the stewardship of the Salford Court fell for a long time to some member of the house of Molyneux. These two Courts sat and transacted business down to the middle of the nineteenth century, when Manchester and Salford became corporate boroughs.

The Manchester Court met twice a year at the building called the Booths, but in later times, when the business had become more formal, it frequently adjourned to one of the coffee-houses or taverns of the town. The Town Hall is first named in 1660. The Salford Portmoot assembled at the Court House in Greengate. The first business was to appoint honorary officers for the care of the public weal. The number of these gradually increased till it was well over a hundred. They included the Borough Reeve or Mayor, two Constables, the Bailiff, who was the Catchpole or tax-gatherer, the mysegatherers or local tax-collectors, market-lookers, scavengers, bylawmen (*i.e.*, town-law men), and so forth. The bylawmen and scavengers had particular districts assigned to them. Thus, in 1554, there were special officers for the market-place, market-stead (now Market Street), Deansgate, Withy Grove, Hanging Ditch and Old Mealgate, Long Millgate, Smithy Door, St. Mary's Gate, Fennel Street, and Hunt's Bank; and we have already seen that these are exactly the streets marked upon the map of Manchester dated 1650. The Salford Portmoot, on the other hand, appointed two scavengers to look after Greengate and Gravel Hole (now Gravel Lane), two scavengers for the Lower Gate (sometimes spelt Lrat and L'rtt and now Chapel Street), and two overseers for the town pump. Later, it was found necessary to allow the Constables a salaried assistant as Deputy Constable; the "Beadle for rogues" was also paid and provided with a suitable uniform at the public expense. The appointment of the swineherd, an

official of whose duties we shall speak later, is first recorded in 1567.

The most important of these officers were the Constables. To them,—the most ancient officials for the preservation of order who survived to modern times,—multifarious duties were assigned, including the receiving and disbursement of all public moneys. The "Constables' accounts" for Manchester and Salford, as regularly presented to the courts in the minutest detail, have also been published. There were Constables for each of the surrounding townships, as well as for Manchester and Salford, and when, in 1654, Manchester was asked to send a representative to Parliament, the election seems to have been conducted by these constables.

After appointing the officers, the court proceeded to place on record the decease of burgesses since the last meeting, and to call upon the heirs who succeeded them to appear in order to do "suit and service." Even members of the Derby family were periodically summoned in this way. On the oath of the Constables and other officers reports were then made of offences and misdemeanours; fines or other punishments were sanctioned by the court without any trial; and further regulations were drawn up for the government of the town. Provision was made for the punishment of offenders by imprisonment in the House of Correction on Hunt's Bank or in the Dungeon (once the "pretty little chapel" described by Leland) on the Old Bridge; by public whipping at the Rogues' Post; by leading them in the Scolds' bridle; or by confining them for an indefinite period in the cage, the pillory, or the stocks. Women who were notorious offenders were ducked in the public pond by means of the cucking-stool. These methods of punishment were in vogue down to the beginning of the nineteenth century, and items for the construction or repair of the dungeon, the pillory, the stocks, the cage, and the cucking-stool, occur regularly in the Constables' accounts. The "cucking-stool pool" is first mentioned in 1586. In Manchester alone, *e.g.* no less than 74 persons (an average of three every fortnight) were publicly whipped in the year 1618-19, and so late as 1776 the beadle was paid twelve shillings for whipping "six of the most abandoned" of "eight girls

Block lent by the Royal Exchange Assurance Co.]

The Old House of Correction, Hunt's Bank.
(Note the boxes suspended from the windows for coppers.)

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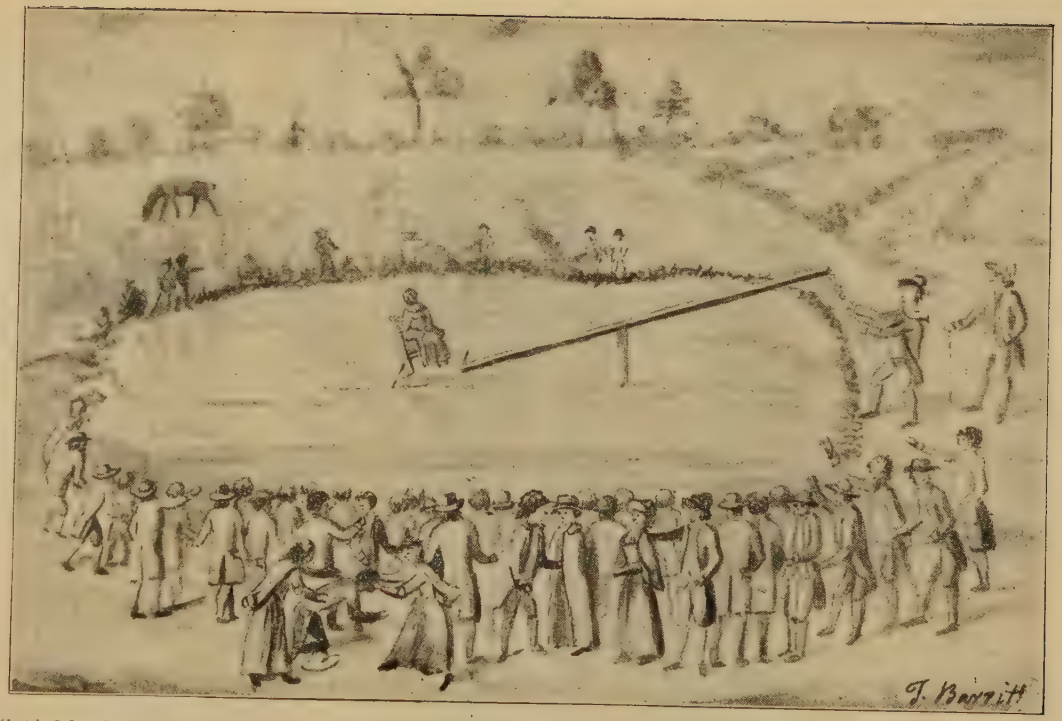

Copied by R. H. Fletcher from a quaint sketch by Thomas Barritt (1743—1820).]

The ducking of women by the use of the Cucking-stool.
(This was practised in the Infirmary Pond as well as at Pool Fold, off Cross Street.)

and seven men " who were arrested on October the 28th of that year. In all these cases the culprits were ordered to be stripped from the waist upwards and whipped till the blood came.

Such was the machinery of local government at that time, and such were the sights that must have greeted the youthful *alumni* of Hugh Oldham's foundation as they sauntered home from school. Before we turn to the various matters that came before the court, one word of warning is necessary. At first sight these details may seem to give a rather squalid picture of the Manchester of the time. It must be remembered, however, that these are matters that came before the courts that corresponded to our County and Police Courts, and we should never go to these for a complete picture of the life of our time. Bearing this caution in mind, these records throw valuable sidelights on the Manchester and Salford of the past.

Certain classes of complaints recur constantly year after year, the most prominent perhaps, especially in the early period, having reference to sanitary matters, the accumulation of dunghills and kitchen middens, the blocking of water-courses, and the broken state of the little stone bridges that crossed the gutters in front of the dwelling-houses. Next come the complaints as to swine; they are allowed to wander in the streets, sometimes are actually fed there; eventually a paid swineherd is appointed, whose duty it is to collect the swine of the burgesses each morning (announcing his arrival by the blowing of a horn) and to take the animals to feed on the waste at Collyhurst. This grievance persisted till near the close of the eighteenth century. " Impressive enough," says Teufelsdröckh in Sartor Resartus, looking back to his childhood's days, " impressive enough was it to hear, in early morning, the swineherd's horn; and know that so many hungry happy quadrupeds were, on all sides, starting in hot haste to join him, for breakfast on the heath; or to see them at eventide, all marching-in again, with short squeak, almost in military order; and each, topographically correct, trotting off in succession to the right or left, through its own lane, to its own dwelling; till old Kunz, at the village-head, now left alone, blew his last blast, and retired for the night."

Stringent regulations were made to prevent other street obstructions and dangers, such as the standing of carts and the feeding of horses (it must be remembered that the streets then were extremely narrow), allowing dogs to go unmuzzled, and indulging in such games as football, bowls, or giddy-gaddy, the last resembling our tipcat. The encroachment of buildings on the narrow streets, even to the extent of a few inches, was severely watched, and rights of way were preserved. Disputes arose as to taking turns at drawing water from the conduit; these were regulated, and the public pumps were chained and locked. Precautions were taken against fire and burglary by the appointment of night watchmen, who rang their bell at the end of every hour; by forbidding the inhabitants to stack gorse or furze near their ovens, and (in Salford) to carry fire uncovered from one house to another; later, both in Manchester and Salford, by the provision of buckets, hooks, and ladders. It is not till near the middle of the eighteenth century that we find any mention of fire-engines; but after that there are references to regular exercise with the engine, which was housed for a long time in the church tower. One of the old engines is still preserved at the Manchester Fire-station.

Strict watch was kept on the market, to see that goods were not bought and sold on the same day (this was to prevent running prices up); that no transactions took place till the market-bell had been rung (a bell may still be seen hanging on the wall of the "Dog and Partridge"); that the market carts and stalls did not obstruct the passage of traffic through the town; that there was no slaughtering of animals in the shambles; that the weights and measures were according to standard; that goods were not adulterated; and that there was no sale of merchandise on Sundays. One of the matters that crops up most frequently is the extravagance at wedding and other feasts, and the maximum expenditure per head on these occasions was periodically fixed by the Court. Eventually special "officers for ales and weddings" in Manchester, and "officers for wedding dinners" in Salford were appointed.

Disputes often broke out between individuals, which are variously termed assaults, frays, affrays, brawls, tusslements,

scratchings, and blood-wipes; these were duly reported and punished, generally by fines. Eavesdropping was at that time accounted a punishable offence. Thus in March, 1573, "the Jury doth present John Skilliscorne, plumber, to be a common eaves-dropper, a naughty person." The severe lessons Manchester had learnt from visitations of the plague (in 1605 one thousand died, and no Court Leet was held) led to regulations to prevent infection, especially from strangers; and this brings us to a matter which was constantly before the Court, viz., the influx of poor "foreigners," as all were called who were not burgesses. The burgesses were repeatedly forbidden to harbour these, and were punished for doing so, even if the strangers were in distress. It was the duty of the constables to ascertain the homes of the vagrants, to see them whipped, to give them passes which exonerated them from further whippings, and then set them on their way to their native parishes. In the case of habitual criminals there was an even worse punishment provided; to take one example, the Manchester Constables' accounts for 1625 actually record the payment of a shilling for giving passes to three men who, after confinement in the Dungeon, had the letter R branded on the left shoulder with a red-hot iron as "incorrageable rogues, and were so sent awaye." This was strictly in accordance with a statute of 1603. Entries also occur recording the raising of the "Hue and Cry" in Manchester, a method by which a felon was hunted from one parish to another till he was arrested. The statute relating to vagrants seems to be the one most frequently acted upon by the Court.

The Salford records are rather prolific of "tusslements," sometimes between two married women; on the other hand, there are no cases (as in Manchester) of playing football in the streets. More interesting are the fines imposed by the Salford Court on burgesses of Manchester, who have turned their horses, cattle, and swine into the Salford lanes, possibly by driving them across the fords of the Irwell. The Salford burgesses, moreover, have a grievance against the dwellers in Cross Lane (then outside the boundary) because they interfere with the cattle when going to pasture.

We may turn with some relief from the rather painful

details enumerated above to duties of a more pleasing character that fell to the Court. Encouragement was given to the recognised "waits" or town minstrels, who not only performed at festivals, but played through the town on every Thursday evening "according to ancient custom"; the Constables were to assist them to "gather their wage" for this service. Each year it was the duty of the Constables to see that butts were erected or repaired in order that "every man-child from seven years old" might practice archery for the defence of his country," upon due consideration of the eminent danger wherein the Kingdom remaineth by a suspected war." These butts, which were built somewhat clumsily of clods and thorns, and were often damaged by cattle, stood in the sixteenth century in Market Street and at Collyhurst; "the inhabitants upon the south side of the church to make one pair of butts in the marketsted lane, and the inhabitants of the north side of the church one other pair of butts upon Collyhurst" (April, 1560); later, they were removed to Alport Lane and Hunt's Bank. Salford had its own butts. The accounts of both Manchester and Salford refer to provision for bonfires and bellringing to celebrate victories abroad or anniversaries at home; to raising train-bands, quartering troops, providing ammunition, collecting ship-money, and tending wounded soldiers.

When we consider the onerous nature of the Constables' duties we need not be surprised to find that there is no case of a Constable taking office for a second year. The fact, however, that a man had served once in this capacity qualified him for the post of Borough-reeve or Mayor, the highest honour the town could bestow.

The details given above, with a few exceptions, are taken from the Court records up to the time of the Civil War. During that crisis no Court was held in Manchester from 1641 to 1647. The Salford Court only suspended its sittings from 1642 to 1644, and again in 1645, "by reason of the troubles of the time."

CHAPTER XVII.

The Civil War and the Siege of Manchester.

The story of the part played by Manchester in the Civil War is romantic in itself, but beyond this it is significant for several reasons. It is, to begin with, the commencement of the authentic history of the place. Manchester was at this time the leading town in Lancashire, but its share in the national struggle gave it a position in the eye of the country as a whole. We have watched the gradual evolution of the town, and seen it emerge from its feudal trappings; we are now to see the inhabitants assert themselves on behalf not only of their own liberties, but of principles which they held to be fundamental. The majority in Manchester on this occasion made a definite stand at a time (let this not be forgotten) when the results of their attitude were by no means assured. There were, it is true, differences of opinion in the town, but the majority prevailed. The course of the war, moreover, shows the way in which the towns (as towns) were beginning to assert themselves. With the execution of the Earl of Derby at Bolton feudalism received a severe blow.

No single battle in the Wars of the Roses was fought in Lancashire. In the Civil War such engagements as are named in the usual chronicles as taking place in Lancashire go to illustrate the fact that, as in Roman times, the district formed an alternative route to the north. Such chronicles seldom name Manchester at all. Yet, irrespective of its geographical position, Lancashire played an important part in the Civil War, and it was from Manchester, after she had first successfully passed through her own baptism of fire, that the operations in Lancashire were mainly directed.

It is useful to remember the conditions of warfare at the time. Certain weapons mentioned in connection with the musters at the period of the Armada had now become obsolete. In the proclamation forbidding the sale of arms, issued in

1643, the only items named are the musket, carbine, pistol, pike, and corslet (the latter being the protective armour of the pikeman). Cannon were used, but in the then state of the roads, it was not easy to move them rapidly; they seem to have made little impression upon Manchester, against which they threw balls weighing respectively four, six, and eight pounds; and in the siege of country residences,—such, for example, as Lathom House—they appear to have done no execution. The greatest damage there was done by a mortar throwing grenades and stones weighing eight pounds, and this weapon was finally captured by the garrison and drawn within the walls.

Lancashire was at that time not only (as indeed it is now) isolated by physical features, but it was of minor importance and thinly populated. If we ask why the Parliament triumphed here eventually, the answer will be (1) that the Parliament had better leaders; (2) that the Lancashire troops of the Royalists were often drawn off to other districts. At first it was by no means easy to foresee the result. Apart from social and political influences, one predominating factor is seen to be the fear yet entertained of the Recusants. The result is all the more remarkable because in the struggle Papists and Episcopalians joined hands.

The Parliament was mainly supported by the Hundreds of Salford and Blackburn in the accessible south-east; the Royalist districts were more isolated. The county was on at least one occasion saved by its mountain barrier.

Throughout the war one figure is always prominent, sometimes pathetically so. The struggle began with the removal of Lord Strange from the Lord Lieutenancy; it ended with his execution at Bolton. Failure dogged his steps, but his loyalty, severely tested as it was by his royal master, rang true to the last. Not more nor less loyal, but made of sterner stuff, was his brave lady, whose gallant defence of Lathom House, and scorn of the terms offered by Fairfax, did honour to a granddaughter of William the Silent, Prince of Orange, and added one more story to the records of woman's heroism. Lord Strange, who became Earl Derby by the death of his father in the first year of the war, was supported by Viscount Molyneux;

both families have been named already in connection with the Court Leet. The strongest leader on the Royalist side, however, was Thomas Tyldesley, a cousin of the Viscount by marriage. Among the Parliamentary leaders we meet with such familiar names as Ralph Assheton, Richard Shuttleworth (ancestor of Lord Shuttleworth), and Alexander Rigby, one of the most active of all. For the history of the conflict we have a number of contemporary tracts, the originals of which are preserved at the Free Library.

The story begins with communications between Lancashire and the King by means of petitions. Charles is first asked to disarm the Recusants; he is then respectfully urged to return to his Parliament. His answers are evasive and unsatisfactory. The next petition to the King is drawn up by Richard Heyrick, Warden of the College of Manchester, and bears 8,000 signatures. Lastly, the Papists ask the King for arms, and he grants them permission to obtain them.

Military preparations now take the form of the raising of "musters" and "trainbands," and attempts to seize the small stores of ammunition (powder and "match") which were located in various towns, presumably in case of invasion. As far back as 1640 the county had become agitated and suspicious at these "commissions of array," carried out under various pretexts by the lord-lieutenant; as well as by the imposition of ship-money. (In 1635 Humphrey Chetham, as Sheriff, was ordered by Charles I to levy £3,500 on the county for a vessel of 350 tons, towards which Salford Hundred contributed £490).

The Royalists, who first mustered at Preston, succeeded in securing all the powder in the county except ten barrels that were stored in the College building at Manchester. This formed the pretext for a rupture, and a preliminary skirmish on the occasion of a visit from Lord Strange to the town led to what has often been said to be the first bloodshed in the Civil War. A month later, on August 22, Charles raised his standard, not in Lancashire, as had been at first proposed, but at Nottingham; and a month later still, the people in Manchester learnt that Lord Strange was collecting troops for an attack upon the town.

We have not space to give a detailed account of the siege that followed. The townspeople had been reinforced by some thousand men from the surrounding districts, but the town was not walled, and a certain John Rosworm, a trained soldier of German origin, who was entrusted with the task of organising the defences, proceeded to block the approaches with chains and mud-walls. There was a small minority in the town on the side of the King, and Salford showed decided Royalist leanings.

At ten o'clock on the night of Saturday, Sept. 24, 1642, the report reached Manchester that Strange was on his way from Warrington with a force variously estimated at from 2,000 to 4,000 men; and on the following Sunday morning, at nine o'clock, worshippers at the Old Church were alarmed by hearing the church bells rung backwards, and rushed out to find the Royalists approaching. Strange was refused an entry to the town, and on the following morning began that most terrible of all warfare, a struggle between men of the same blood and nationality.

We have enumerated in an earlier chapter the main avenues of approach to the little town of that time, whose population may have totalled five thousand; they were defended as follows: Rosworm, now a Colonel in Assheton's foot, was in charge at Salford bridge; which was of course conveniently commanded by the high ground of the churchyard; indeed, sniping was successfully carried out from the church tower itself. Captain Bradshaw (not, as often stated, a son of President Bradshaw), held Deansgate; Captain Radcliffe (of Pool Fold, now Chapel Walks) was posted in Market Street; Captain Booth in Long Millgate; Lieutenant Barwick held Hunt's Bank; and "a company of resolute soldiers" answered for Shudehill. Strange brought with him a number of small cannon; the town seems to have had only one gun, and this did duty in Deansgate.

The attacking party suffered from the heavy rain; this further increased their difficulty by swelling the Irwell and so making combination difficult. On the occasion of his previous visit on the matter of the powder Lord Strange had stayed at Ordsall Hall, the home of Sir Alexander Radcliffe; on the

occasion of the siege he fixed his headquarters much nearer, on the Manchester side of the river, at Alport Lodge, the residence of Sir Edward Mosley, then lord of the manor.

Fighting went on in a desultory way throughout the week. It was the week of the annual fair in Manchester, and we may just imagine how business was dislocated. Their assaults failing on Monday, the attacking party set fire to several buildings in Deansgate, and at midnight made an attempt to fire the town. The next day, after an attack along Market Street, Strange made another attempt at an agreement, whittling down his demands to no purpose, though some people in the town were restive, and ammunition was running short. A sally from Deansgate on Thursday was answered on the following day by the attacking party throwing up entrenchments, as if for a blockade. On Saturday, however, an exchange of prisoners took place, the ill-starred siege was raised, and Strange, who had become Earl Derby on the previous day by the death of his father, withdrew.

We may glean graphic touches from the pamphlets of the time as to the soldiers having prayers and psalm-singing daily at the street-ends; the kindness of the townspeople to the defenders; and the zeal of the "gentlemen" in making bullets; while of the besiegers we learn that "by reason of cold and wet, hunger and thirst, and labour and want of sleep and a bitter welcome that we gave them, their hearts were discouraged mightily." We are accustomed to speak of Edgehill as the first battle of the Civil War. The siege of Manchester began a month before Edgehill, and indeed a fresh supply of ammunition reached Manchester on the day before that battle took place. Manchester, however, was to see no more fighting during the war. Instead, it became the Parliamentary Headquarters, and the seat of the Committee for Lancashire; and it was continually sending out men from the "Manchester Garrison" (as it was called) to prosecute the war in various parts of the county.

Over these operations, which extended through some nine years, and left the town greatly impoverished, as may be supposed, we are bound to pass lightly. The capture of Preston by this brave Manchester garrison was a great blow

to the King's cause, and Rosworm was again entrusted with the defence works there. Manchester, Bolton, Preston, Lancaster, and Blackburn were now in the hands of the Parliament; the Royalists held Wigan, Warrington, and Liverpool. As the result of incessant fighting, however, practically the whole of Lancashire was in the hands of the Parliament by the middle of 1643; only Lathom House, the home of Earl Derby, and Greenhalgh Castle, near Garstang, still holding out. Nevertheless, Newcastle sent a summons to Manchester in July calling upon the town to lay down arms. The reply was based largely on the Papist danger, and it concludes: "Sir, we are nothing dismayed by your force." Newcastle attempted force, but precautions having been taken to defend Blackstone Edge, the great barrier of the Pennines foiled the attempt.

Fairfax passed through Manchester on his way to his victory at Nantwich, in January, 1644, and it was after this visit that the Manchester Committee decided on the siege of Lathom House, and despatched Assheton, Rigby and Moore to carry it out. The gallant defence of this place by the Countess of Derby, and the defiant answers she flung back at Fairfax and Rigby, "though a woman and a stranger, divorced from her friends and robbed of her estate," form one of the most fascinating chapters in the history of the war in Lancashire. It was in answer to her request, as well as that of her husband, that Rupert, with the King's sanction, diverted his northward march westwards, and for the moment put Manchester in danger once more. But Rupert came no nearer to Manchester than Barlow Moor and Trafford Park, and passed on to perpetrate his famous "Bolton massacre,"—Earl Derby, at his own request, assisting him. Seven years later Derby was executed at Bolton. A collection made in the Manchester and Salford churches in aid of the sufferers from this massacre realised £140. During the subsequent attack on Liverpool 400 troops were sent from Manchester to Warrington and sailed thence down the Mersey to that port.

With the battle of Naseby in the next year the fighting in the first Civil War was practically at an end. The capture of Liverpool in November was the occasion for a public

thanksgiving, and in December Lathom House, in the absence of the Countess, was starved into submission; the buildings were so completely destroyed that even the site cannot now be identified. (Alport Lodge had been similarly razed three years before.) The county was now financially exhausted, and Parliament directed that collections in all the London churches should be devoted to the relief of Lancashire. Three years later this appeal was extended to all England and Wales. Manchester in particular suffered severely, and in this same year the ravages of the plague there were such that in three consecutive months 748 persons were buried at the Parish Church alone. The country people refused to enter "such an infected town," and we read of its "impoverished condition" and the "decay of trade." Parliament accordingly instituted a special collection for Manchester as "one of the first towns that in this great cause stood for their just defence."

The share of Lancashire in the second Civil War has to do mainly with the march of the Scottish army through the county. Lancashire troops went as far north as Carlisle to meet Hamilton, and at the public thanskgiving voted for Cromwell's victory at Preston the select preacher before the House of Commons was Heyrick, Warden of the Manchester College. The situation, however, had changed, and was changing. The Presbyterians were now out of sympathy with the Parliament, and with this and the general distress the discontent was such that in July, 1649, a party of Royalists actually attempted to proclaim Charles II King at Manchester Cross. Cromwell's first hasty report of his Preston victory (Letter 63 in Carlyle's Collection) was addressed to "the Honourable Committee of Lancashire sitting at Manchester," "to the end you may not be troubled if the enemy shall march towards you." Cromwell pressed on to Wigan, getting his experience of the Lancashire climate and roads, and arriving "very dirty and weary, having marched twelve miles of such ground as I never rode in all my life, the day being very wet."

In 1651 the Scots are again in Lancashire, and are joined further south by Derby, who has spent the last five years in his island home. Derby was sent back to raise troops, and it was then that he and Tyldesley were routed by Lilburne at

the battle of Wigan Lane, where they had to face "the finest soldiers in Europe," and the sides being about equal the combat was "the fiercest of all the ten years' fighting in Lancashire." It was the Royalists' last stand in this county. The Earl was sent a prisoner to Chester, but escaped and fought at Worcester, after which battle he was captured again. At his trial it was decided by a small majority that his execution should take place, not at Manchester but at Bolton, and at Bolton this loyal nobleman, the "martyr earl," whom even his enemies described as "a worthy gentleman, courteous and friendly," suffered the death penalty on October the 15th.

We may perhaps take it as a recognition of the growing importance of Manchester, as evidenced by its prowess in the war, that three years after this event Lieut.-Colonel Charles Worsley of Platt Hall, Rusholme, on the nomination of Cromwell, under whom he had served with distinction, became the first member of Parliament for Manchester. Worsley is with good reason supposed to be the officer who, in 1653, removed the mace from the House of Commons in response to the command: "Take away that bauble." His statue is included in the group at the north-western angle of the Town Hall. On his death in 1656, Richard Radcliffe of Pool Fold was chosen to succeed him. Radcliffe died in the last year of the Long Parliament, and after that Manchester had no representative at Westminster till 1832.

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The Civil War, we may add, nipped in the bud a project for founding a University at Manchester. The scheme, which was broached in 1640, had the support of Lord Strange, and his Manchester residence, the Old College, was suggested as a suitable site.

The northern petition which designated Manchester as the fittest place for the foundation of a new English university, gave as the chief reason for the choice that here was the centre of these northern parts; and it added, as another argument, the convenience of the college already built at Manchester, and then just a century and a quarter old—Hugh Oldham's Grammar School. "How well judged," said Sir A. W. Ward, once, in an address on Founder's Day at the Man-

Copied by R. H. Fletcher from the Drawing at the Reference Library.]

The Seven Stars.

The ancient hostelry which stood till quite recently on the south side of Withy Grove.

Block lent by the Manchester Reference Library.] [*From a sketch made in 1877 by W. Morton.*

Old Houses in the district called Gibraltar, near Long Millgate.

The earliest date shewn on them was 1668. A similar three-gabled "black and white" block is still to be seen (1924) at the northern end of Corporation Street (which has here absorbed Long Millgate) between Berry's Court and Munday Street. It is inscribed T. P. M. 1684.

chester University, "was that generation in the estimate of the right relations between our Grammar School and our University!"

* * * * *

One other event falls to be recorded here. It was in 1639 that William Crabtree, a "draper" of Broughton, watched patiently through a gloomy December day, from nine in the morning till close upon four in the afternoon, when, to his great delight, a break in the clouds showed him the planet Venus projected like a tiny spot of ink on the sun's disk. It was a glorious confirmation of the prophecy of his friend Jeremiah Horrox, the young curate of Hoole, near Preston, who (in spite of his clerical duties) was also a witness of the phenomenon; but it was more than that: it was the first scientific observation of the transit of Venus, an event which, more than two centuries later, was to form the basis for the calculation of the distance of the sun from the earth. Horrox, whose work on the transit (originally written in Latin) has been translated, was greatly assisted in his calculations by Crabtree, and he thus refers to Crabtree's observation: "I had written to my most esteemed friend, William Crabtree . . . inviting him to be present at this Uranian Banquet, if the weather permitted . . . . . A little before sunset he was gratified by beholding the pleasing spectacle of Venus upon the sun's disk. Rapt in contemplation, he stood for some time motionless, scarcely trusting his own senses, through excess of joy."

CHAPTER XVIII.

Religious Controversies and the Birth of Nonconformity.

It has been said that the Civil War in Manchester was a war of religion. Certainly nothing is more striking in the contemporary records than the important part that religion played in producing the unanimity that prevailed in Manchester during the struggle. This unanimity, however, soon gave place to a strife between the sects, which lasted for a number of years. Perhaps there is no place in the country where the details of these controversies are more fully illustrated than they are in Manchester. This will appear as we proceed. In order to follow the subject clearly it may be well to take up the thread a little further back.

We have seen in an earlier chapter that the element that first appeared as the most pronounced effect in Lancashire of the Reformation was the dread of the Recusant menace. "Every English Catholic seemed to Protestant eyes an enemy at home." Alongside this, as has been pointed out, there was a strong element of Puritanism, which was struggling to assert itself. It has been said that no greater moral change ever passed over a nation than passed over England between the middle of Elizabeth's reign and the meeting of the Long Parliament. Elizabeth, in her zeal for Uniformity, had discouraged the Puritans; James I, of whom they expected so much, in his progress through Lancashire insulted them; they had also been snubbed by the Council of the North. The assembling of the Long Parliament, however, gave them an opportunity to voice their grievances and aspirations.

The fact that the King, a few months later, gave permission to the Recusants to arm, only tended to confirm the general feeling of apprehension, and it was with a united front that the Parliamentary party in Manchester met the shock of the war. At the close of the first phase, however, commenced the

struggle between religious freedom and religious conformity which justified the statement that modern England began with the triumph of Naseby. The Presbyterians, who then had a majority in Parliament, proceeded to impose their system of church government on the country at large. For this purpose a scheme was drafted dividing each county into "classes" or districts, and appointing to these "classes" ministers and elders according to the Presbyterian system. The root principles of seventeenth century Presbyterianism (a system derived in the main from Scotland), were the severance of the Church from the State, the abolition of bishops, and the management of the affairs of each church by a council of elders, called Presbyters. It must be remembered that the attitude of the Presbyterians of this time on the question of bishops represented a reaction against the exercise of arbitrary authority by ecclesiastics like Laud, then fresh in the public memory.

In spite of the votes of Parliament, the Presbyterian system of church government was not popular in the country, and indeed made little impression except in London and in Lancashire, where it was carried out with great thoroughness. It was in the very year after Naseby that the county was divided into nine "classes," forming a "province," and the district of Manchester formed one "classis."

Meanwhile there was growing up, especially in the army, another sect that favoured giving freedom to each church to manage its own affairs, and the adherents of the new party were known as Separatists or Independents. Alongside both of these were members of the Old Church who looked with no great favour on either sect. All three were represented in Manchester; and the names of three men, all of them members of the college, are specially prominent in the religious controversies of the time: Richard Heyrick the Warden; Richard Hollinworth (author of the earliest known history of Manchester); and the minister who succeeded him on his death in 1656, the Rev. Henry Newcome, afterwards the first incumbent of Cross Street Chapel.

We can perhaps hardly realise to-day the heat and fervour and actual violence with which Heyrick, from the pulpit of

the collegiate church (now the Cathedral), thundered forth his denunciation of the Recusants, or dealt with the confused politics and religious controversies of the time. It was Heyrick, as we have seen, who drew up and presented to the King in person the petition which bore 8,000 signatures. He preached against war before the war broke out; he attacked the Episcopacy. He is said to have composed the firm and dignified reply which the townspeople returned to Lord Strange's summons to them to surrender; he subscribed liberally to the support of the Parliamentary troops; and he was the first man in Manchester to sign the Covenant. When 101 divines sat at Westminster to consider how Presbyterianism should be introduced into England, Heyrick was one of the number; he set his face against the Independents; he acted as moderator of the Manchester classis; and he opposed Cromwell's "agreement." When the college revenues were sequestrated, he refused to leave his post; he was afterwards arrested on suspicion of sympathy with the exiled Stuarts, and only released on payment of a fine; and he preached the sermon on the occasion of the Restoration.

Of quite another mould was his ministerial colleague, the gentle and pious Henry Newcome, who survived him nearly thirty years. Unlike the Warden he bowed at first to the restrictions set up by the Clarendon Code, and for some time refrained from preaching. His autobiography and diary form a valuable storehouse from which to obtain vivid pictures of the life of the time.

In the two years following Naseby there was a perfect cannonade of pamphlets between Hollinworth and the representatives of the Independents. Eventually a petition reached Parliament, signed by 12,500 Presbyterians of Lancashire, praying for the suppression of all separatist congregations, and a settlement of the question of Church government. This attempt to impose on the country the stereotyped Presbyterian system—"forcing the spiritualism of England to grow in Presbyterian fashion"—though it started in Lancashire with such fair promise, was doomed to fail there as elsewhere.

As we have said, all these details are illustrated from the Manchester district. Let us take an example. The beautiful

Early English church known to-day as St. James's, Birch, occupies the site of one of the little local chapels mentioned in an earlier chapter; this one having been built in the reign of Elizabeth, doubtless originally for the use of the family at Birch Hall, whose sympathies seem to have been with religious freedom. In 1646, the very year in which the Manchester "classis" was formed, a certain minister, having tried for some time to inculcate "Independent" principles at Gorton Chapel, moved to Birch, and there "set up congregationalism." The classis objected, and eventually the minister resigned; but the incident is illustrative, and we shall have to refer to Birch Chapel again, in connection with the troubles that followed the Restoration. Meanwhile the Independents gradually obtained an ascendancy over the Presbyterians. "The Independents set up a meeting in the college," writes Hollinworth in his history, three years later, "the chapter-house door and the college chest were broken open, and the college deeds were seized on by some soldiers, and sent up to London." The same soldiers, who are said to have been led by Colonel Birch, of Birch Hall, seem to have proceeded to the Free Grammar School close by, and torn down the effigy of Hugh Oldham which adorned the building.

The constant disputes produced great confusion in the churches, but in the very year preceding the Restoration, some sort of compromise was arranged at the Collegiate Church at Manchester. The Restoration, however, brought the Episcopalian Church back to power once more; the Manchester "classis" was dissolved in the same year; and the Act of Uniformity in 1662 closed the doors of the national church to Presbyterians and Independents alike. Two thousand clergy were ejected from their livings, and among these were the Rev. Henry Newcome of the Manchester Church, the Rev. Richard Holbrook of Trinity Church, Salford, and the ministers at the local chapels at Birch, Gorton, and Newton Heath. Heyrick, as we have said, refused to leave, and was eventually reinstated. The Memorial Hall at the corner of Albert Square, Manchester, commemorates, as the inscription upon it records, the secession that took place in 1662, and many of the ejected ministers came to reside in Manchester,

as it was not a corporate town. Their attempts to conduct worship privately led to the Conventicle Act and the Five Mile Act, and the fact that we find a chapel at Stand (near Whitefield) to-day, seems to be due to the preaching there at this time of the ejected Holbrook, as Stand lies just outside the "five mile" limit.

Birch Chapel, already mentioned, appears to have been specially suspect. People met to worship at Birch Hall by stealth. There are extant lists of inhabitants of Rusholme who were reported by specially-appointed watchers for not attending the parish church, (they having been seen to enter Birch Chapel), and these were fined accordingly. This occurred in 1662. In 1673 the King permitted non-conforming ministers to obtain licences to preach in private houses. Even then the minister of Birch Chapel was interfered with, and eventually, in 1697, with the assistance of friends, he erected the little chapel at Platt, and became its first minister, the ground being given by the Worsleys of Platt, another family with Nonconformist leanings.

Henry Newcome's autobiography shows vividly how his life was harassed in these difficult times. When, in 1653, he was required to read the Army's proclamation in the Old Church, he says: "I refused and referred the matter to the Lord and went to my sermon." "I am driven out," he writes in 1666; "I went secretly out of town." "I scarce durst to be known at home and durst much less be known to do anything." "We have no remedy against the Five Mile Act . . . . any rascal may fall upon me for being in the town." In 1672 he obtained his licence, first to conduct services in his own house (this the justices tried to prevent), and then in an adjacent barn. Tradition has it that this barn stood in Coldhouse Meadow, Shudehill, on a site afterwards occupied successively by Methodists, Independents, and Baptists. The last-mentioned sold the site in 1899. Even here Newcome tells us that Sir John Bland (a somewhat dissipated character) broke the windows of the building with his whip as he rode past while Newcome was preaching. Eventually his admirers (his preaching attracted large congregations), finding the barn too small, erected for him, in 1693, the building known as

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Block lent by the Royal Exchange Assurance Co.]

Cross Street Chapel.

Cross Street Chapel, the first Nonconformist place of worship in Manchester. "Many curses and imprecations the foundations were laid in," writes Newcome, and he had a presentiment that "he might not live to serve in it." In September, 1695, fifteen months after the chapel was opened, he was buried in its western aisle.

After the Declaration of Indulgence, and the passing of the Toleration Act, the various dissenting chapels went each its own way. It is not quite easy to explain in words why so many of these chapels in Manchester and around Manchester eventually became Unitarian. We read of "a strong and deepening undercurrent of theological rationalism" which was carrying some influential minds away from the High Church Doctrines of the Establishment and from the Calvinism of many of the Dissenters. When, as happened in the case of several of the churches in Manchester and its neighbourhood, a minister developed Unitarian tendencies in his preaching, a split took place, and part of the congregation migrated and founded a new (generally an Independent) church. This occurred, for example, at Cross Street Chapel in 1761 and at Stand thirty years later. It is worth noting, as an indication of the trend of opinion at the time, that it was generally the orthodox section that migrated; the new doctrines for the moment commanded a majority. In later years, some controversy naturally arose, as to whether chapels that had adopted Unitarian doctrines had a right to use endowments that dated from the Secession, at which period the new doctrines had not held the field. There was a discussion of this kind at Cross Street Chapel in 1824, known as "the Manchester Socinian Controversy," and once more the Unitarians held the position. We must not forget that the eighteenth century was an age of scepticism, using that word in its proper sense, as implying searching enquiry, an examination into the foundation of orthodox beliefs. At Cross Street Chapel, for example, it was during a ministry lasting from 1717 to 1771 that "the views of the congregation underwent a gradual change from Trinitarian through Arian to Unitarian doctrines," and this movement of thought was taking place in a number of other churches about the same time.

In all this, however, we have been somewhat anticipating events. In the present chapter we have witnessed the birth of Nonconformity and the erection of the first Dissenting Chapel in Manchester. With the subsequent history of that church and the developments of other Acts, we shall deal later.

CHAPTER XIX.

The Beginnings of Manchester Trade.

A spindle whorl made of stone, found on Kersal Moor, and possibly of prehistoric date, is often held up as the earliest trace we have of textile work in Manchester. If we search the old surveys—practically, as we have seen, the only records we have for the early history of the town—the first reference we find to textile work is the mention of a certain fulling mill on the Irk. Fullers were called "Walkers"; and the street-name Walker's Croft is generally explained as derived from this mill. The first reference to it occurs in 1282; by 1473, as another survey tells us, the value of the mill had nearly doubled. This—if we except the mention of a certain dyer in Ancoats about 1250—is the earliest reference we have to the textile industry, which had become so important by the reign of Henry VIII that the privilege of sanctuary was, by Act of Parliament, removed to Chester, because it interfered with the prosecution of the local manufacture.

The preamble to this Act pictures the inhabitants of Manchester about the year 1540 as "well set to work in making cloths," linen and woollen; the industry employing a number of hands, and bringing "riches and wealthy living to the town." There is a reference to the "straight and true dealing" of the inhabitants, which has attracted yarn-merchants from other places, who are willing to give credit for the yarns till the cloths are made. The presence of the rogues drawn there by the privilege of sanctuary is represented as inconvenient, because it is necessary to lay out the linen yarn in the fields for six months at a time, and to hang out the woollen cloths to dry. There seems to be no evidence for the statement that weaving was first introduced by immigrants from Flanders, as is suggested by one of the frescoes in the Town Hall.

During the sixteenth century Manchester became famous

for the manufacture of a class of woollen goods called "Manchester Cottons." These may have been imitations in wool of real cottons made abroad. It is not till the seventeenth century that we hear of the people of Lancashire making "fustians of a kind of bombast or down, being a fruit of the earth, growing on little shrubs or bushes," brought to this country from the Levant, and "commonly called Cotton wool." Recent research (1918) has shown that cotton was a common article of import long before this time, but there is little evidence as to its uses. The statement usually made that it was employed in making candle-wicks would hardly seem to be sufficient explanation, though the consumption of candles at that time would be considerable.

By the time of the Civil War we have references to an important linen trade, carried on by Manchester people, who buy the yarn of the Irish in great quantity and "return the same again in linen into Ireland." About the same period they "buy cotton wool in London that comes first from Cyprus and Smyrna, and at home work the same and perfect it into fustians, vermillions, dimities, and such-like stuffs, and then return it to London, where the same is vented and sold, and not seldom sent into foreign parts." Less than a century later Defoe writes that "the grand manufacture that has so much raised this town is that of cotton, in all its varieties"; and before the eighteenth century closes the cotton manufacture has largely ousted the linen and woollen industries from Manchester, as from other parts of Lancashire, with the exception of Rochdale.

In these early days of the staple manufacture of the district, before the introduction of the factory system, the work was done in the homes of the people. Spinning was largely the occupation of women and children; weaving was carried on at the large, low windows of the cottages and farmhouses, many of which may still be seen in the outlying districts. "She hath several children," writes Henry Newcome of a woman he visited in the seventeenth century, "and they are little. They card, and she spins, yet they have much to do to get bread." In the country districts the men who wove spent part of their time working on the land; it was a common thing

Photo by R. H. Fletcher.]

Medallion representing a man weaving (on the Princess St. side of the Town Hall).

Photo by R. H. Fletcher.]

Medallion representing a woman spinning (on the Lloyd St. side of the Town Hall).

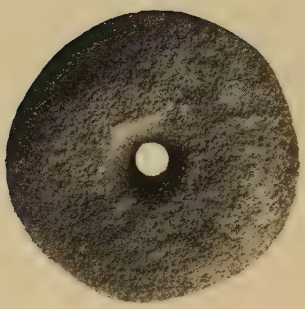

Photo by R Pettigrew.] *[Block lent by the L. and C. Antiq. Soc.*

Spindle-whorl of sandstone.

(Found in 1908 on Kersal Moor. Actual size.)

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for the rent of the farm to be paid in part with the produce of the weaving done by the hands. Gradually, as the weaving became more complicated, it was necessary that the operative should devote his whole time to it; in isolated country districts, moreover, it was not easy to obtain the necessary yarns and occasional repairs to the looms; hence the weaving industry gradually became detached from the agricultural districts and gravitated to the towns. A weaver in these early times had often to walk many miles to collect from various spinners the weft required to keep his hand-loom going, and again to deliver the finished woven "piece."

As similar conditions obtained in the woollen manufacture in Yorkshire, perhaps we may illustrate by quoting a few picturesque details from the diary of a Halifax weaver, under the date October, 1782. On the 14th this man records that he "carried a piece," (*i.e.*, he took to the cloth merchant a piece of cloth that he had woven); on his return he wove $4\frac{1}{2}$ yards of a new piece. The next day he wove 9 yards; the loom then remained idle for a week, as he was busy with the harvest. On the 23rd he wove 2 yards before sunset; on the 24th he churned till 10 and then wove $6\frac{1}{2}$ yards. As the next day was wet he was able to complete $8\frac{1}{2}$ yards. The following day, being Saturday, he took his corn to the mill to be ground in the morning, and in the afternoon helped a neighbour with his harvest. Monday is blank, and on Tuesday he was only able to weave $2\frac{1}{4}$ yards, but the next day, having woven 4 yards more, he "carried the piece," which had taken him over a fortnight to complete.

We have said that it is difficult, in spite of recent research, to decide when cotton was first used in Lancashire manufactures. It is equally difficult to determine at exactly what date an all-cotton fabric may have been produced. We have seen that by 1654 there was a definitely established industry in the county dependent for its prosperity on regular supplies of cotton wool from abroad. It has been surmised that an impetus may have been given to the fustian manufacture in England by the decay of German industries due to the thirty years' war. It has also been conjectured that the use of cotton may have been introduced by immigrants in the latter half of

the preceding century. Whether cotton had been used before must be left a doubtful question.

It seems to be safe to say that no all-cotton fabrics were made here in the seventeenth century. The Act of 1774 (13 Geo. III, c. 72), however, speaks of "a new manufacture of stuffs, wholly made of raw cotton wool, chiefly imported from British plantations." Whether these goods were produced here before the advent of the great inventions or not, it is quite clear that it was the great inventions that made it possible to manufacture them on any scale. The hand-spun yarns were strong enough for the weft or cross-thread of the cloth; they were not sufficiently strong to form the warp, which was consequently made of linen or wool. Ogden, in his "Description of Manchester," to which we have already referred, speaks of "washing hollands all cotton in the warp," but Ogden, of course, wrote in 1782, by which time the improvements in spinning due to Hargreaves, Arkwright, and Crompton were well known. It was the advent of these inventions that revolutionised spinning, made it easy to manufacture cloths entirely of cotton, and at length enabled the Lancashire weavers to rival in the market the foreign competitors whose fine cotton cloths had hitherto been their despair. For the problem that faced the Lancashire manufacturer for many years—the problem the solution of which went far to make the trade of Lancashire and hence of the country—was how to produce a pure cotton fabric that should surpass in fineness the Indian calicoes; and it has been said that the transfer of this industry, one of the main factors in the wealth of ancient India, to England and the United States, and the cheapening of the process by mechanical ginning, spinning, and weaving, is perhaps the greatest factor in the economic history of our own time.

In these early days there were weavers who owned their looms, and also journeyman weavers who worked for wages. Already the "Manchester merchant" had become an important factor in the system. He is represented as working very hard, with little or no capital. According to one careful summary, there were, up to 1690, no Manchester businesses with a capital of £4,000. It was his special function to warehouse the goods

brought in by the weavers, and to distribute them for home and foreign consumption. The introduction of canals about 1760 greatly facilitated transport, but at first this was largely effected by strings of packhorses—the old bridle-roads across the Pennines may still be traced—and the principal sales were conducted at the periodical markets and fairs. In the Manchester Court Leet records there are a number of instances of fines ranging from ten shillings to two pounds, for using "cloth-yards" short of measure by some fraction of an inch.

Export was carried on first by means of London houses. Later, the "Manchester merchants" went abroad and negotiated the foreign sales themselves. Relations between the merchant and the producer varied. Sometimes the former supplied the warps and cotton to the weaver, and paid for the making of the cloth; in other cases the weaver provided himself with yarns and sold the finished article. There is one other point before we leave this story of the textile manufactures prior to the Industrial Revolution. Even before the principal improvements had taken place in spinning machines, and the power looms had replaced the old hand-loom, the germ of the factory system had already appeared. Large loom-shops were built, in which journeymen weavers wove at the handloom, and children were apprenticed to the work. Really, however, the loom lingered in the cottages after spinning had been centralised in mills, because improvements in weaving came later than the inventions which so largely increased the output of yarn, and which required water-power.

Alongside the manufacture of the three textiles mentioned above, the occurrence of the names of about a dozen silk-weavers in Manchester between 1648 and 1791 shows that a silk industry flourished; there is also a reference to the printing of fustians as early as 1700; but the development of calico-printing belongs to the days of machinery, as do also the enormous advances in the various iron-working industries and in engineering generally. In these later developments, to which we refer in another chapter, Salford plays an important part.

The Salford portmoot records, which are dated mainly to the first half of the seventeenth century, contain references,

among others, to cloth-workers, silk-weavers, dyers, fullers, weavers, and bleachers. We began this chapter with a reference to a fulling mill on the Irk which existed at least as early as 1282. Salford, however, can boast an earlier reference to this industry, which is otherwise interesting as affording a glimpse of the first trade-relations between the two towns. In the 23rd clause of the Salford Charter, which was granted in 1230, it is provided that no one shall practice the trade of a fuller anywhere in the hundred outside the borough of Salford. An exception is made, however, in the case of the barons, and this left Manchester free to follow her own devices.

CHAPTER XX.

The Manchester Jacobites and the "Fifteen."

In an earlier chapter, dealing with the religious controversies of the seventeenth century, we have somewhat anticipated the events that followed the Civil War. The general dissatisfaction with the course pursued by the Parliament turned the thoughts of a number of people in the direction of the exiled Stuart, and in 1659 Manchester, by one of those curious turns not unknown in its history, took part in an abortive rebellion known as the "Cheshire rising." Sir George Booth, of Dunham, declaring for a free Parliament, after openly drilling his tenantry and others, marched to Warrington, reinforced by 500 men from Manchester, and proclaimed Charles king. "Next day the town engaged," writes Newcome in his Autobiography, "and mustered five hundred men in arms." "August 19," he adds, "was the battle and rout at Northwich." "Great trouble in the town imprisoning and taking horses and sequestrations." The insurrection was easily suppressed; Booth was defeated at Winnington Bridge; and Colonel Birch of Birch Hall and Lilburne, the hero of Wigan Lane, took command in Manchester; but the event is an indication of a reaction making itself felt in the town that in the early years of the war had stood firm for the Parliament; and the Restoration, which took place in the following year, was welcomed by Presbyterian and Royalist alike. The religious controversy died down for the moment; an attempt was even made, as we saw, to come to an agreement.

The Restoration was the occasion of great rejoicings in the town. On May 6, 1660, Henry Newcome writes: "I prayed for the King by periphrasis"; after the proclamation he prays with more freedom. A large and mixed company marched in procession to the church to hear a pompous sermon from the Warden Heyrick, after which the pageant

re-formed, the Borough-reeve and Constables leading. They were followed by burgesses, by Sir Robert Assheton and other gentlemen, by troops, and boys in special costume, "with the town music playing before them upon loud instruments." The procession moved on to the Town Cross, and then to the Conduit, which is said to have run wine for the occasion, and so to the open field, now St. Ann's Square, where volleys of shot, bonfires, fireworks, and the ringing of bells continued the festivities.

Of the Act of Uniformity that came two years later, and the consequent ejection of seventy ministers in Lancashire alone, including a number in the Manchester parish, we have already spoken; the Declaration of Indulgence in 1672 allowed a measure of freedom to these for a time. The accession of James II was received with mixed feelings, which were not allayed by his appointment of Molyneux, a Roman Catholic, to be Lord Lieutenant. Even after the accession of the Prince of Orange the old danger from Recusants was felt to be again acute, and in 1694 the exposure of the so-called "Lancashire plot" (a suspected case of conspiracy and treason) led to a trial at the Sessions house at Manchester, which ended in an acquittal.

The legislation of the new régime, as it happened, offended Episcopalians and Roman Catholics alike, and there gradually grew up in Manchester a High Church party with strong leanings (as we have said) towards the exiled Stuarts; so that now the pulpit of the Collegiate Church became the rallying point for those who (secretly or otherwise) cherished Jacobite sympathies; the same pulpit that half a century before had thundered on the side of the Parliament. More remarkable still, the Tories in Manchester were ready to join hands with the Roman Catholics to procure the restoration of the exiled House.

It was inevitable that some should dissent from these extreme views. We have seen that the Nonconformists had erected Cross Street Chapel as their place of worship in 1694. When the growing needs of the population induced Lady Ann Bland (the Lady of the Manor, then resident at Hulme Hall) to build a second church in Acresfield in 1712, the congrega-

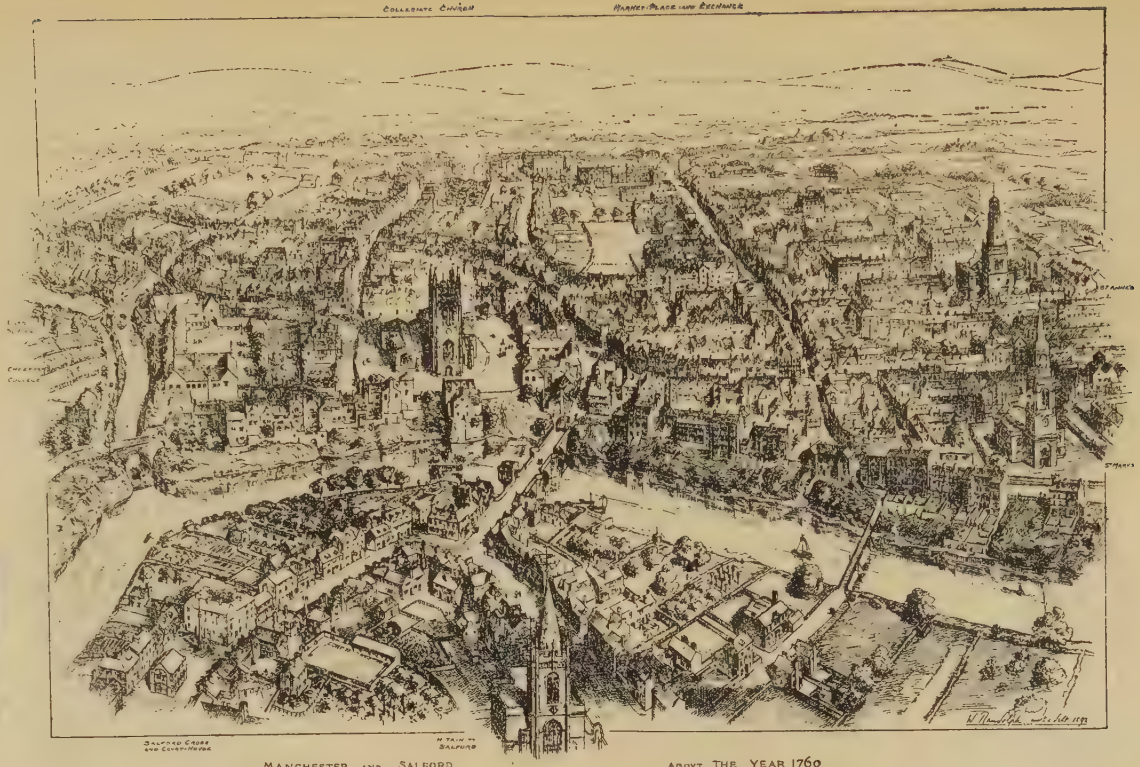
tion of the new church consisted mainly of Whigs with Low Church tendencies, as distinguished from the High Church and Tory congregation at the Collegiate Church. The new building was named St. Anne's from the foundress and the reigning sovereign, and we may note in passing that in the Court Leet Records the name "Acresfair" now gives place to the name "St. Ann's Square," which this space—open from time immemorial—still bears. Although the foundress's name appears as *Anne* in the Court Leet Records, the Square is named St. *Ann's* from the first, and St. Ann's it has remained.

The appearance of the two Pretenders, at an interval of thirty years, gave the opportunity for the smouldering Jacobite sympathies of the Manchester Tories to burst into flame. The preaching and the trial of Dr. Sacheverell only fomented matters; and on the Pretender's birthday, June 10, 1715, one of the so-called Sacheverell mobs, led by Tom Syddall, a blacksmith, damaged the houses of a number of Loyalists in Manchester, and eventually attacked the Nonconformist Chapel in Cross Street, leaving only the walls standing. "We are all in a ferment here," wrote an eye-witness, afterwards a trustee of the chapel. "Last night they broke into our Dissenting Meeting-house, and pulled up every seat within it." Parliament voted £1,500 for the repair of the building, and it was ready for use in the following year, as we have seen. The ringleader was sentenced to the pillory, and eventually imprisoned in the county gaol at Lancaster. The original walls of the building are still in position, and have been described by an architect as "the best brick-work to be seen in Manchester."

Meanwhile the Jacobite party in Lancashire had promised the Scotch Jacobites that an invasion should be supported by 20,000 men. The ill-fated expedition under Derwentwater accordingly entered England and proclaimed James III King at Lancaster on November 7, 1715. Syddall, the Manchester rebel, who had been released, joined the forces of the Old Chevalier in their march to Preston, but he was taken prisoner in the "Preston fight," tried at Liverpool, and condemned to be executed, with several others, at Manchester, where his

head was publicly exposed. As we shall see, a precisely similar fate awaited his son.

Some of the rebels on this occasion were executed in London, and the event, as it happens, brings us into contact with still another religious sect. The speeches of two of the men at the scaffold had been written for them by a certain Dr. Deacon, who belonged, as they did, to the "non-juring" community, a sect that refused to bow to the Hanoverian King, insisting that theirs was the true church. This Dr. Deacon, a warm adherent of the non-jurors, afterwards came to live in Fennel Street, Manchester, where we shall hear of him again. Some of us pass the tomb on which his name is inscribed as we walk every day through St. Ann's Churchyard.



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Block lent by Messrs. Longmans and Co.]

A Bird'eye view of Manchester and Salford in the middle of the eighteenth century.

Block lent by Mr. T. Swindells.]

St. Ann's Square in 1745.

(The trees, planted in 1718, were removed in 1822. The cupola on the church was taken down in 1777.)

CHAPTER XXI.

Manchester and Salford in the Middle of the Eighteenth Century.

The middle of the seventeenth century found Manchester standing firm, and almost unanimous, for the Parliament, as against the Stuart dynasty. In the middle of the eighteenth century, by one of those curious revulsions of feeling which characterise her history, she gave an unmistakable, though by no means unanimous, welcome to the representative of that exiled house. Before we come to the romantic details of this oft-told story it is fitting that we should, as in dealing with the earlier event, endeavour to obtain a picture of the two towns a hundred years after the date of our last survey, remembering that their population had approximately quadrupled in the interval, and was now about 20,000.

MAP OF MANCHESTER AND SALFORD IN 1750

We made use on the former occasion of the earliest known plan of Manchester and Salford. For our present purpose an interesting collection of surveys is available to show the growth of the community, and these are illustrated in most cases by pictorial "Prospects," and views of prominent buildings, which render the task easier. Our last plan was dated "about 1650"; we may select for our present purpose Berrie and Casson's map dated exactly a century later. The town proper of Salford is still confined to the already familiar triangle of streets, and only just reaches beyond Trinity Church. The arteries of the modern Salford, however, are already dimly defined, as is shown by a curious plan dated 1740. According to this, Cross Lane, Broken Bank (where the Irwell has cut into its bank, forming the "Crescent" of to-day), Oldfield Lane, and Back Lane (the present Regent Road), form a well-defined and striking square of roads, along

which houses of the well-to-do are springing up. The space between is open fields, and Ordsall Lane is as yet only a straggling path leading to the Hall. It would be interesting to know if any satisfactory explanation of this curious "square" can be offered.

If we now cross to Manchester by the single bridge that spans the Irwell, we find that the growth of buildings there is more marked. To be clear, we may say that the town is bounded on the north by the Irk; its extreme eastern point is at the top of Shudehill; its south-westerly limit is at Allport; and a line drawn from Allport to the top of Market Street forms its southern boundary. Outside this was open country. It is still the Manchester of olden time, the home of Newcome and Byrom and Deacon, "the greatest mere village in England," the busy country town already famous for its manufacturing skill and energy—famous too for its firm stand for principle—that was gathering strength for the great spring that raised its population (now 20,000) to 200,000 by the date of the Reform Bill. It is fitting, therefore, that we should picture this early Manchester, so soon to disappear, in some detail. Incidentally, we shall find that at this very period, the town was making important strides in various directions.

DETAILS OF MANCHESTER STREETS IN 1750.

The map shows that the buildings follow the southern bank of the Irk eastwards, as far as Scotland Bridge. Once across this bridge we are in open country, and it was in this direction, by way of Redbank and Singleton, that people went in those days to Kersal Moor to see the races. Indeed, this was the one route northwards out of Manchester. If, again, we cross the Irk by the narrow bridge at Hunt's Bank, we are once more in the fields, through which a mere path runs northwards on the line of the present Great Ducie Street. It was along this lane that "Mrs. Byrom and Beppy rode to Kersal," as John Byrom records in his diary in 1736, "and I walked aside of them through the fields." On their way they would pass, on the site of the present Assize Courts, Strangeways Hall, with its beautiful grounds, now blotted out by the gaol, but still commemorated by the name of "Park" Chapel. The

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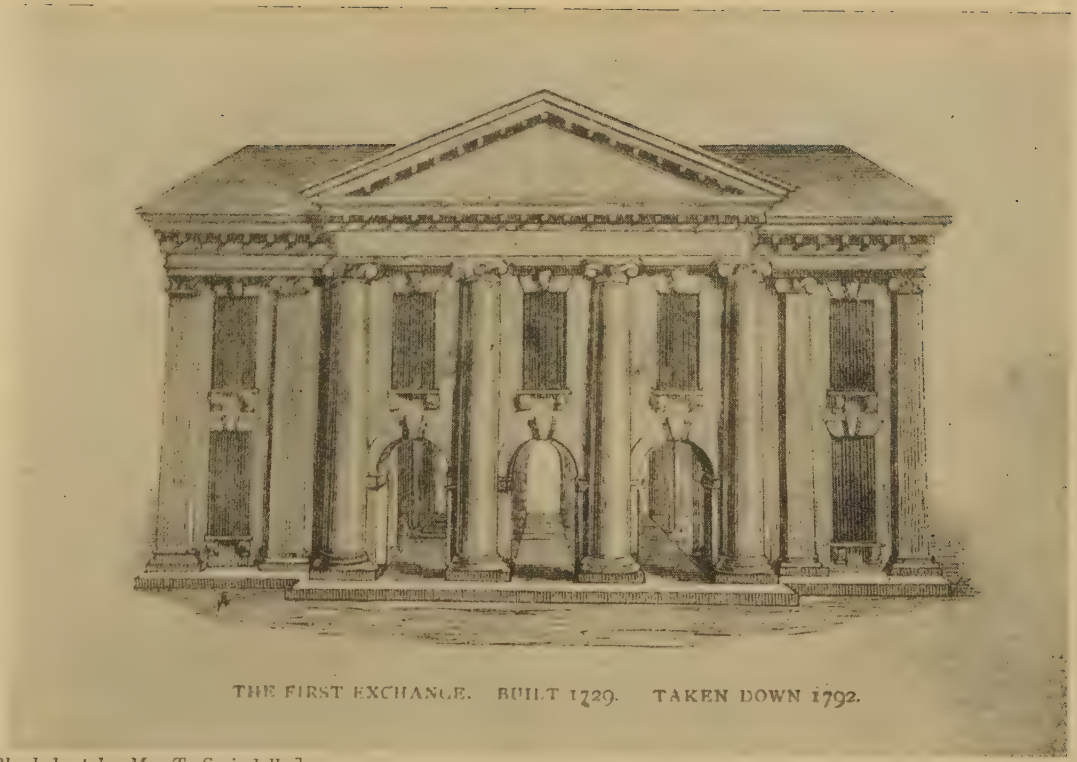
This house, still standing in Long Millgate, was the residence of the Howarth family in the first half of the eighteenth century. The passage to the right (Howarth's Gates) still bears the name of the family.



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The first Manchester Exchange.

iron gates of the hall have been removed, and form the present south-western entrance to Peel Park. Where Victoria Station now stands was a pleasure-garden with summer houses, belonging to Hunt's Bank Hall, the residence of a member of the Clowes family, a name still commemorated in a neighbouring street. Hunt's Bank, of course, represents the sloping sides of the valley excavated by the Irk. As regards the name, perhaps the most that can be said is that the survey of 1422 refers to the "Hunt Hull," and that in other documents mention is made of a certain William le Hunt. We may note in passing that quite a number of sporting names occur in the vicinity, *e.g.*, Hunter's Lane, Huntsman's Court, Cockgates, Boar's Head, Hare and Hounds, Roebuck, Dog and Partridge and Spread Eagle.

Having thus ascertained that the Irk bounds the town on the north, we may start from the river's mouth at Hunt's Bank and follow a pleasant track along Walker's Croft, its flowery northern bank, overlooked by the back windows of the college, as far as Scotland Bridge; cross the river into Long Millgate, and turn up Miller's Lane (now Miller Street), noting how the word "mill" is repeated, because we are close to the site of the old mill of the manor. Near the top of Miller's Lane, standing free of dwellings, are the Almshouses, built in 1680. At the corner of Miller's Lane and Shudehill, where stood the old Pinfold for stray cattle, we reach the extreme eastern limit of Manchester. We are now in the region of Angel Meadow, which once fully justified its name, though the district was afterwards to become notorious for its slum dwellings. Its character at this time is shown by the fact that as late as 1739 the Court Leet had to insist that none but burgesses should graze their cattle in Ancoats Lane (now Great Ancoats Street) and in Newton Lane (the present Oldham Road).

Passing down Shudehill to Withy Grove, we note that in Garden Street, to the right, the first Manchester Infirmary was erected in 1752. Garden Street marks the site of the gardens behind Mr. Howarth's residence in Long Millgate, which is yet standing as the "Manchester Arms," one of the finest specimens of an eighteenth-century house in the city, and the name still lingers in the adjoining Haworth's Court. From

these gardens a balloon ascent took place in 1786, whence comes the name of Balloon Street close by.

Withy Grove brings us to Hyde's Cross; a portion of the old cross is still preserved in the yard of Chetham's Hospital. From the Cross Toad Lane, now Todd Street, winds into Long Millgate, where we may turn to the left, past the old gate of the College, close to which stands Hugh Oldham's Free School—the original building, which was not demolished till 1776—and so reach the low northern wall of the churchyard, known as "Back o' the Church," and also as the Apple-market. The church looks as it looks to-day, and has looked for nearly five centuries, and north of it we glance once more across gardens at Thomas la Warre's fifteenth-century College, then as now the home of Chetham's Hospital. To the left, on Hunt's Bank, is the local prison, called the House of Correction.

Along the eastern side of the churchyard runs Half Street, afterwards to become famous in the story of David Grieve. Crossing the gravestone-flagged churchyard to the south, we pass from it across Hanging Bridge (now hidden by Hanging Bridge Passage) into Cateaton Street. Even then, this fourteenth-century bridge was regarded as a curiosity. "Old Church in the afternoon," writes Byrom in 1725, "took Dr. M. to see Hanging Bridge." From Cateaton Street Old Mealgate brings us to the Market Place, where we have already seen the Cross, the instruments of punishment, and the Conduit; but beyond, we now see the two-storied building erected as an Exchange by Sir Oswald Mosley in 1729.

Half Street, now Cathedral Street, leads to the corner where Hanging Ditch and Hunter's Lane (now Cannon Street) meet, and here stood the house of Dr. Byrom, author of the hymn beginning "Christians Awake." The house of his friend, Dr. Deacon, the famous non-juring "bishop, was close by in Fennel Street, adjoining the present Douglas Hotel. Before we leave the vicinity, we may picture these two friends, in shovel hats and gaiters, sauntering along Long Millgate, and turning in at the College gate, for a "discussion" in the Library, as Byrom describes in his diary.

Between the churchyard and the river there now runs—past

Exchange approach—a broad thoroughfare, which was constructed about 1840. No such street existed in 1750. From the churchyard a flight of steps descended towards Hunt's Bank at one corner, and a stile formed an outlet at the other. Perhaps it was at this last exit that Henry Newcome had his "dangerous fall down the stone steps that go out of the churchyard into Hanging Ditch." There was no road along the river bank; instead, the space, which appears bare in the map of 1751 gradually became crowded with buildings,—among which were several inns—straggling right down to the water's edge, easy prey to the periodical floodings of the Irwell. Instead of the present Victoria Street, a narrow elbowed thoroughfare, known as Smithy Door, squeezed its way between a labyrinth of black and white buildings, from Cateaton Street into Market Street. The name is explained by the two reliefs carved in stone to be seen to-day over the entrance to Victoria Arcade from Victoria Street, which commemorate the story of the blacksmith, who produced in court, as evidence of debt, the door of his shop, on which he had chalked his accounts. The first picture shows him at work in his smithy; in the second he is presenting the door (on which the account is seen chalked) to the judge.

Market Stead Lane has now become Market Street Lane, and reaches to the Daub-holes, a pond occupying the site of the present Infirmary Flags, but the Infirmary close by was not commenced till 1754. In this pond flourished at that time the rare flower known as the water-soldier (*Stratiotes aloides*), and in the immediate outskirts of the town such plants as sundew and Lancashire bog-asphodel were common in the marshes; the last two were to be found in Victoria Park as late as 1845. How rich the bird and insect life of these marshes and moors must have been then, may be judged by the fact that even as late as 1918, there have been seen on a pool lying between two collieries, only three miles from Manchester Exchange, between thirty and forty species of birds, including the golden-eye, pintail, shoveler, scoter, kingfisher, heron, water-rail, grey plover, and tern.

In front of the Daubholes pond, where Oldham Street now runs, were green meadows. We have reached the limit of the

town again, and may either take a pleasant country stroll past the Daubholes, down Bank Top, and across the Medlock to the outlying village of Ardwick, or retrace our steps and turn down Spring Gardens -then the most easterly thoroughfare south of Market Street—to the top of King Street, where, in a beautiful garden, in a group of tall trees, a colony of rooks

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Market Street in the middle of the eighteenth century.
(*From James's drawing.*)

had their home for many years. King Street is now the home of a cluster of banks, the oldest building in that street being that occupied by the District Company; but there was no bank in Manchester till twenty years after the period we are considering.

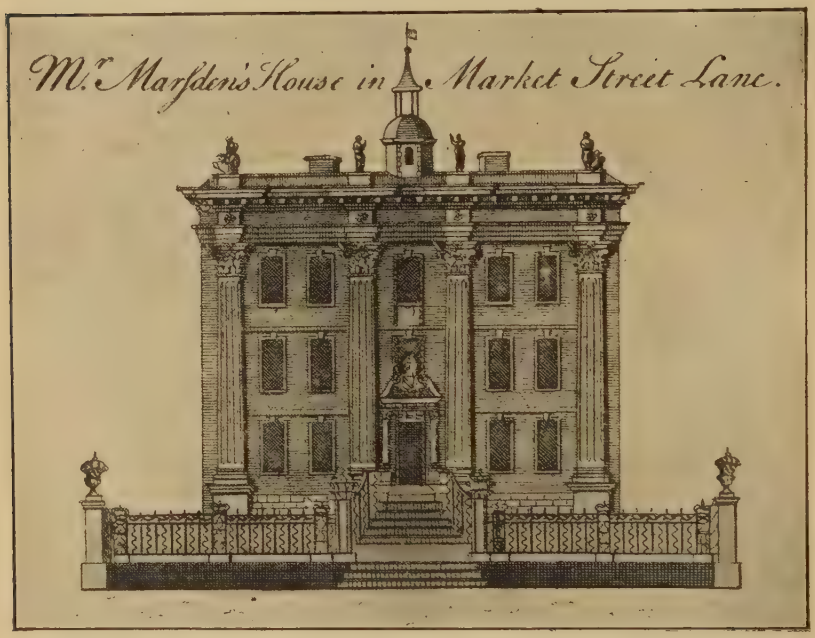
From King Street we may cross the little river Tib into Booth Street, and here we reach the boundary of the town once more, and may now take a pleasant walk over stiles and through the fields that occupied the site of the present Albert Square, to Deansgate, which does not extend beyond Quay Street. A little lower down, a few houses called Allport—the old town—stand isolated beside the Roman fort, in the neighbourhood of some pleasant market gardens. Quay Street is a straight road leading between the fields to the Wharf on the Irwell, and in it only two residences are to be seen. We may now make our way along Deansgate to Market Street once more—passing the residential quarter known as the Parsonage on the left—having thus practically completed the circuit of the town.

Opposite the Exchange, which stands between Smithy Door and the Market Place, a narrow entry leads into St. Ann's Square, at the end of which rises the then cupola'd tower of the new church; Queen Street (now St. Ann's Street) to the left will bring us in view of the "Dissenters' Chapel," as Cross Street Chapel is designated on the old maps. To the left once more a narrow devious way known as Poolfold (a small street off the east side of Cross Street is still called Back Pool Fold) continues Cross Street past the moated mansion of the Radcliffes (once used as a prison for the Recusants, and not demolished till 1811, though the moat had been filled up before that date) into Market Street once more, but we can proceed no further, as the line of Corporation Street was not opened till 1845.

CHARACTER OF THE STREETS. STREET LIGHTING.

The houses of these streets (which were ill-paved when paved at all) were largely built of wood and stucco; excellent examples still remain in Greengate and in the Market Place; but among them, as we have seen for example

in Long Millgate, rose the solid stone-built residences of the well-to-do. The narrowness of the streets, and the consequent congestion of traffic, are shown by the frequent references in the Court Leet records of the time to the various street obstructions and nuisances. Market Street, congested enough now, was then a mere lane, and was not enlarged even



[*Block lent by the Royal Exchange Assurance Co.*

Mr. Marsden's house, facing Market Street, is a good illustration of the residence of a Manchester merchant in the middle of the eighteenth century. Marsden Square exists still.

to its present width till 1821. The records of the Court seem to show, moreover, that at this period the whole town depended for light at night on two oil lamps, one on the Old Bridge, the other at Manchester Cross. That private houses had their lamps is indicated by the statement, in one of Byrom's letters, that the mob in 1746 "broke Dr. Deacon's lamp and

windows." Means of communication were not necessary, for all parts of the town lay within five minutes' walk of the Exchange; the first cab appeared as late as 1839, and plied from Piccadilly.

THE IMMEDIATE OUTSKIRTS.

Outside the limits we have defined, districts like Broughton, Hulme, Greenheys, and Chorlton-on-Medlock were wide expanses of fields, with here and there a farm, a hamlet, or a homestead. Even the site where the Midland Hotel now stands was occupied by a pleasant, out-of-town residence, with high-walled garden, known as Cooper's Cottage. This site was to play its part later in the tragedy of Peterloo. The present Windmill Street was actually the site of a windmill, which did not disappear till 1811; presumably it stood on the rising ground that gave its name to Mount Street; a remnant of Salford's windmill is still to be seen. Gaythorn, now suggestive only of gasworks, was then really gay, in the proper season, with the blossom of hawthorn hedges, by which the Medlock flowed pleasantly, its little tributary, Shooter's Brook, singing past the door of Garratt Hall. St. Peter's Church was not yet built, and the line of Oxford Street was not even laid out. The immediate proximity of the country made parks and open spaces unnecessary, but a little later, on summer Sunday evenings, people would promenade in the Infirmary gardens. Strangely enough, to-day, nearly a century and three-quarters later, these have become a public promenade once more.

INNS AND AMUSEMENTS.

The principal inns were: in Manchester, the Bull's Head (still standing in the Market Place), the resort of the Tories, and the Angel, patronised by the Whigs; in Salford, the Bull's Head (yet to be seen in Greengate); and there were St. Ann's and other coffee houses. There was a small theatre in Manchester as early as 1753, but as a rule—as an old saying has it—Manchester people went to Salford for their amusements. For horse racing they resorted to Kersal Moor; for the drama they frequented the Salford riding-school; and in

1761 the company that performed there constructed for the convenience of their patrons a light wooden bridge across the Irwell, the precursor of the present Blackfriars Bridge.

SOCIAL LIFE.

For the social life of the period we have abundant material in the diaries of men like John Byrom and (though somewhat earlier) Henry Newcome; and in the stray notes of less famous men. Subscription concerts were held at least as early as 1744, in which year we find among the subscribers such familiar and notable names as Barlow, Byrom, Deacon, Egerton, Townley, and Francis Reynolds (father of the first Lord Ducie), then residing at Strangeways Hall. The Gentlemen's Concert Hall, however, was not built till 1830. The Old Church is the resort of the Tories and High Church party, and its preachers are famous for their Jacobite leanings; the new church, St. Ann's, is patronised by the Low Church section and the Whigs. There is the Library at the College for those who wish to read or dispute; for lighter discussions there is the Assembly in King Street (precursor of the Assembly rooms in Mosley Street) where ladies meet once a week, the subscription being half-a-crown a quarter. At the conclusion of the meetings the maids arrived, with lanterns and pattens, to escort their mistresses home; on special occasions Sedan chairs were used. "Mrs. Byrom went to the Assembly," writes Byrom in 1725; "I went home and worked at my book till Mrs. B. came home."

NEWSPAPERS.

A few weekly newspapers had appeared, the *Manchester Weekly Journal* (issued from Smithy Door) leading the way in 1719. The proprietor afterwards moved to Chester and conducted the *Chester Courant*, in the columns of which Dr. Byrom exercised his wit in contesting for what he called "the principle of true old English loyalty against Whigs and fanatics," the Whigs being represented by the *Manchester Magazine*. Indeed it was the need for organs of the press to ventilate the strong party feeling of the time that led to the founding of these papers. In 1752 *Harrop's Mercury* began

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The Old Blackfriars Bridge.

This bridge, the second bridge built across the Irwell, was erected in 1761, to give Manchester playgoers access to the Salford Theatre.

At MANCHESTER.

According to the last *Regulation* 1721.

The POST goes out,

To London &c. or to any of the Towns in or near the road to London — Monday, Wednesday, Saturday — Morning 9 O'Clock.

To Warrington, Chester, Worcester, Bristol, Ireland, Liverpool, Preston, Lancaster, Kendal, Carlisle, Dumfries &c. — Mondays, Thursdays, Saturdays — Morning 7 O'Clock

Note. It will be best to Bring the Letters the night Before the going out of the Post, because the acc-counts and Baggs are usually made up over night.

To Rochdale, Yorkshire, Edinburgh &c. — Sundays, Tuesdays, Fridays — Morning 6 or 7 O'Clock

The POST comes in,

from London &c. — Mondays, Thursdays, Saturdays — Night 9, 10, 11, 12, or &c.

from Warrington &c. — Tuesdays, Fridays, Sundays — Morning 6, or 7.

from Rochdale &c. — Mondays, Wednesdays, Saturdays — Morning 8.

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Manchester Post Office Notice, 1721.

to appear on Tuesdays; this paper lasted till 1830. The London *Times*, it is worth noting, did not appear till 1785.

Very little Manchester news found its way into these papers, which consisted merely of a single small sheet. Occasionally a few lines referring to some local event appear at the bottom of the last column. The death of Dr. Deacon, *e.g.*, is recorded in six lines, about the space allotted to the advertisement of a cock fight between two neighbouring counties, such advertisements occurring repeatedly. It is interesting to see, after the foundation of the Infirmary, how frequent are the notices of donations to that institution. An earthquake, which lifted people's beds, is recorded in 1753. There is occasionally a notice of the launching of a "vessel" at the "quay"; and a résumé is given of the cases at the Quarter Sessions. A blood-curdling account of an execution—as *e.g.*, of the 1745 rebels—is allowed ample space. Before the days of the Belle-vue Gardens, or the rival menagerie at Broughton, we find such attractions advertised as "a young rhinoceros on view at the King's Arms for one shilling."

We are speaking of the days before railways or canals, and before the birth of John Macadam. Travelling was performed by a promiscuous service of coaches, on horseback, or on foot; transport was by means of pack-horses and carriers. For graphic details on this and other subjects there is perhaps no record more helpful to those who are trying to form a mental picture of the Manchester of this time than the Diary and Correspondence of John Byrom.

JOHN BYROM.

The figure of this writer stands out so prominently in eighteenth century Manchester, and typifies so perfectly its very best product, that no apology is needed for devoting some space to him here. No one can read the published volumes of his remains without echoing the verdict of the honoured Freeman of Manchester who has edited his poems, as to his "high moral conscientiousness and profound tenderness of heart." Seeing that he is most famous for his epigrams, it is something to be able to add that his writings are "free from the slightest taint of vulgarity." To Manchester he was

ever affectionately loyal. "We look upon ourselves," he once wrote, "as embarked in the good ship Manchester, and whenever we apprehend her in the least danger are ready to work as hard as if we were never so considerable sharers in her cargo."

John Byrom was born at Kersal Cell in 1692, and educated at Merchant Taylors' School, and Trinity College, Cambridge, of which he became a fellow. His sister describes how, in his college vacations, he would go down to the Irwell, and "bawl out Tully's orations in Latin so loud they can hear him a mile off, so that all the neighbourhood think him mad." Many years afterwards, writing to his wife from a London coffee-house, he says: "I long to jump into Kersal river." He studied medicine abroad, but marrying early (though very happily) he was compelled to seek a livelihood by teaching the system of shorthand he had invented, securing as his pupils (mainly in London and at Cambridge) members of the nobility and even of the Royal Family. He frequently attended meetings of the Royal Society, of which he was elected a Fellow, and there he met Sir Isaac Newton.

In his diary, and in his beautiful letters to his wife, we have a vivid picture of his life at home and abroad, and of those whom he met. His journeys to and from London were generally performed on horseback, and took about a week; once he elected to return on foot. On at least one occasion he was attacked by an armed highwayman, and "never grudged an ounce of silver so much in his life." His letters are forwarded by coach or by friends, and are sometimes franked. His Manchester house, before he succeeded his brother at Kersal Cell, stood, as we have seen, in Hanging Ditch, but he invariably addresses his letters to "Mrs. Elizabeth Byrom, near the Old Church." When at home he attends, sometimes the Old Church, sometimes St. Ann's, and though he was famous for his Jacobite leanings, he visited freely at Hulme Hall, the residence of Lady Ann Bland, Lady of the Manor, who might be regarded as the leader of the opposite faction. Indeed, Byrom was famous for the caution with which he intruded his opinions upon others, and even when Prince Charlie was in Manchester, Byrom had to be

[*Block lent by L. and C. Antiq. Soc.*

Kersal Cell.

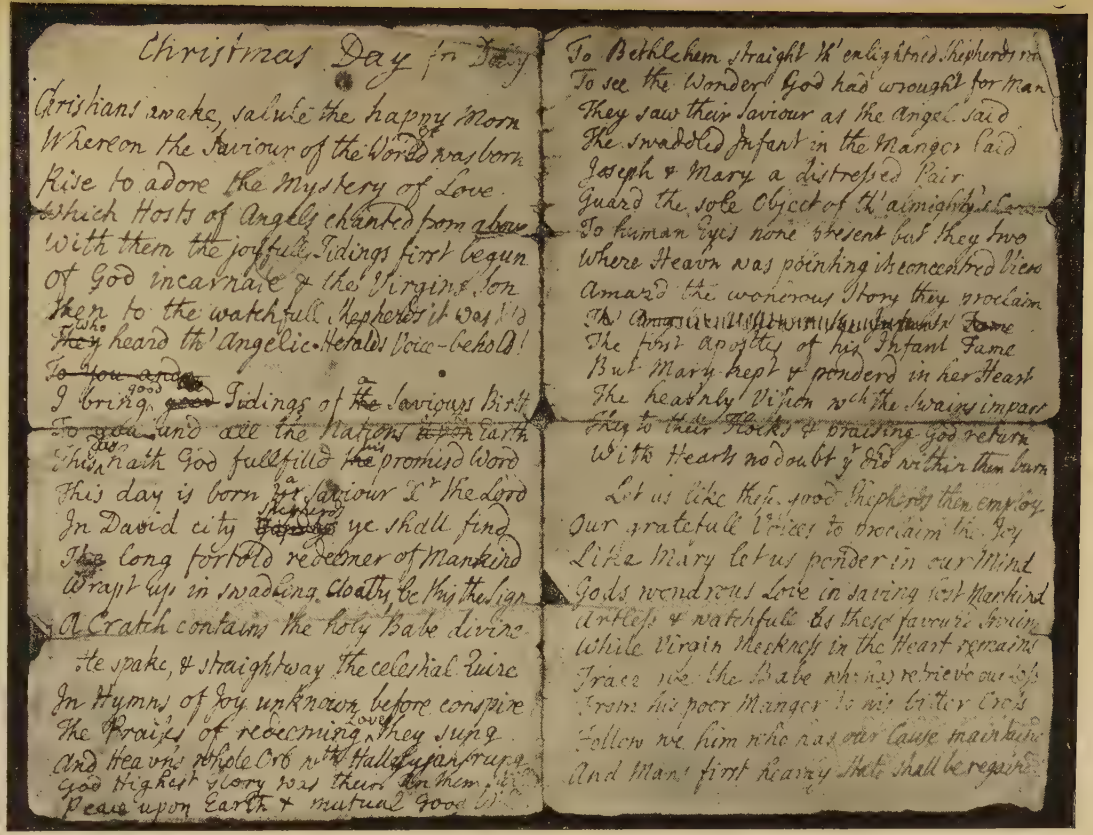
brought to kiss his hand by some show of force, or as his daughter playfully puts it: "My papa was fetched prisoner to do the same." The Old Pretender he is said to have met in France.

The two most famous things he wrote were the hymn "Christians Awake!" and his epigram on the Pretender. Yet this last is only once mentioned in his writings, and even then, in a letter to his wife, he feigns to disclaim the authorship: "Mr. Freke repeated to me these verses: 'God bless the King! God bless the Faith's defender' &c., and said they were Dr. Den's. My service to him and everybody else." We may note here that there are no less than four different versions of this quatrain, and that the only one that has Byrom's *imprimatur* is:

"God bless the King! God bless the Faith's Defender!
God bless—no harm in blessing—the Pretender!
But who Pretender is, and who is King,
God bless us all! that's quite another thing."

De Quincey, who gives a much less probable reading in his "Confessions," states there (the story is not confirmed), that Byrom "sang it out," as an "equivocating impromptu," when on one occasion he was asked to drink the health of the Pretender in the toast: "The King, God bless him! and confusion to the Pretender!"

Dr. Deacon, the famous non-juror, lived hard by in Fennel Street, and here, or at Byrom's house, or at the College, these two friends met often for chess, or discussion of religious or political questions, drinking green tea, and smoking a pipe or taking snuff meanwhile; all such minute details are duly recorded. "Dine at Quay house; go on to College, and meet Thyer, Deacon, and Clayton, discussing Romans, chapter one." After service at St. Ann's or the Old Church, Byrom will sometimes take the children "into the fields." Besides his numerous patrons, Byrom was very familiar with the Wesleys (Charles Wesley learnt shorthand from him), with Lady Huntingdon, and especially with William Law, the Mystic, to whom he looked up as his master.



Christmas Day for Mary

Christians awake, salute the happy Morn
Whereon the Saviour of the World was born
Rise to adore the Mystery of Love
Which Hosts of Angels chanted from above
With them the joyfull Tidings first begun
Of God incarnate & the Virgins Son
Then to the watchfull Shepherds it was told
Who heard th' Angelic Heralds Voice - Behold!
I bring good Tidings of the Saviours birth
To you and all the Nations upon Earth
This day hath God fulfilld the promised Word
This day is born a Saviour Xt the Lord
In David city shepherd ye shall find
The long foretold redeemer of Mankind
Wrapt up in swadling cloaths, be this the sign
A Cratch contains the holy Babe divine
He spake, & straightway the celestial Quire
In Hymns of Joy unknown before conspire
The Praises of redeeming Love they sung
And heavns whole Orb with Hallelujahs rung
God highest glory was their Anthem then
Peace upon Earth & mutual good Will

To Bethlehem straight th' enlightned Shepherds ran
To see the Wonders God had wrought for man
They saw their Saviour as the Angel said
The swaddled Infant in the Manger laid
Joseph & Mary a distressed Pair
Guard the sole Object of th' almighties Care
To human Eyes none present but they two
Where Heavn was pointing its concentred Views
Amazd the wondrous Story they proclaim
Th' Amazement all that hear the Fame
The first apostles of his infant Fame
But Mary kept & pondered in her Heart
The heavnly Vision wch the Swains impart
They to their Flocks & praising God return
With Hearts no doubt yt did within them burn

Let us like these good Shepherds then employ
Our gratefull Voices to proclaim the Joy
Like Mary let us ponder in our Mind
Gods wondrous Love in saving lost Mankind
Artless & watchful as these favourd Swains
While Virgin Meekness in the Heart remains
Trace we the Babe who has retrievd our loss
From his poor Manger to his bitter Cross
Follow we him who has our Cause maintaind
And Mans first heavnly State shall be regaind

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The original manuscript of the Hymn, "Christians Awake!"
(Now in the Chetham Library.)

MARYLEBONE PUBLIC LIBRARIES

Copied by R. H. Fletcher from a quaint sketch by Thomas Barritt (1743—1820).]

Bear baiting in the eighteenth century near Hyde's Cross.
(Wheelbarrows and Bladders were used.)

On the occasion of his writing the hymn, "Christians, Awake," for his daughter Dorothy, Wainwright, the organist at the Old Church, who composed the tune, brought a choir to sing it outside Byrom's house, probably the house in Hanging Ditch. The house must have stood not many yards from the spot now occupied by the new Tram Terminus for Hightown and Cheetham Hill cars. We have another glimpse of the popularity of his verses. His sister writes that on one occasion no coal was to be had; but when the colliers heard that it was wanted for the poet who had given them the "Workmen's song," they at once went down to the pit and fetched some. In his later years Byrom, on the death of his brother, succeeded to the family property at Kersal Cell.

It was of the Manchester of Byrom's day that Clive—the founder of our Indian Empire, himself the grandson on his mother's side of Nathaniel Gaskell of Manchester—wrote from India in his early days there: "If I should be so far blessed as to revisit again my own country, but more especially Manchester (the centre of all my wishes), all that I could hope or desire would be presented before me in one view."

THOMAS DEACON.

Of Byrom's friend, Dr. Deacon, we shall have more to say in the next chapter. He was a doctor of medicine, who was prominent among the small body of "non-jurors" who held that they represented the true Catholic Church. Deacon aspired to be a Bishop of this Church. He died in 1753, and is described on his tombstone—still to be seen in St. Ann's Churchyard—as "the greatest of sinners and the most unworthy of primitive bishops." He presided over a very small congregation of the sect he represented, which should perhaps be called the second nonconformist body established in Manchester. His political sympathies were entirely with the Jacobites. He first became famous as composing the speeches uttered by the 1715 rebels on the scafforld; in the later rebellion, as we shall see, he paid for his Jacobite leanings by losing no less than three sons.

COACHES AND THE POST OFFICE.

We were led to digress into some mention of Byrom in speaking of the mode of travel at the time. Even after the middle of the century, the flying coach took as much as $4\frac{1}{2}$ days to go from Manchester to London. This leads us, lastly, to say a word about the Postal Service. An Act in the reign of Anne had regulated the charges somewhat, a single sheet being now taken eighty miles for threepence, an ounce costing a shilling for the same distance. We now have handbills stating that the Post leaves Manchester for London and intermediate towns three days a week; by the year 1755 the Postmaster General announces an extension to six days a week. It is generally assumed that the functions of a Post Office in Manchester were first performed by the Bull's Head in the Market Place, this connection with an inn being convenient on account of the posting system. The Post Office was afterwards in St. Ann's Street; by 1840 it had moved to Brown Street; and the present General Post Office was opened in 1884.

* * * * *

Such was the Manchester of the middle of the eighteenth century; and into this Manchester there rode, between two and three o'clock on the twenty-ninth of November, seventeen hundred and forty-five, Bonnie Prince Charlie.

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Dr. White's house, which formerly stood on the site now occupied by Lloyd's Bank, at the corner of King Street and Cross Street. It was pulled down in 1821 to make room for the first Town Hall, afterwards the Reference Library.

CHAPTER XXII.

Beppy Byrom's Diary of "The Forty-five."

It is not altogether easy to explain why Manchester became, in the time of the first two Georges, the town of most pronounced Jacobite leanings in England. We must remember how much the life of the place centred round the Old Church, and at that period the preachers, with one exception, leaned strongly towards the exiled house, and made no secret of their preference in their sermons. The services were well attended. Byrom unwittingly gives us a graphic picture of the congregation streaming out on Sunday morning, when—in a letter to his boy Edward—he compares his cramped and crowded handwriting to "Hanging Ditch of a Sunday after sermon." The zeal of John Clayton, one of the fellows of the Collegiate Church, was such that when Prince Charlie passed through Salford, he fell on his knees in the street and prayed for the Divine blessing upon him. Dr. Deacon and his small following were also, by their very profession, quite unreconciled to the new dynasty. It has been suggested, moreover, that the fact that so many members of the county families were now taking part in the local trade may partly explain the situation.

However all this may be, we can be quite sure that nowhere in the country was the news of the advance of the young Pretender more eagerly discussed than at Dr. John Byrom's house in Hanging Ditch. Byrom's name would always be famous, if only for the epigram already mentioned; but he carefully avoided overt acts; his diary is strangely silent at this time; and in the only letter in which he refers to the rebellion, he speaks of himself as "obliged to stay in the country" owing to "the occurrences of life." His eldest daughter Elizabeth, the Beppy of his letters, is much less cautious, though she also is careful in her correspondence to use such cryptic initials as "his M.K.J.," and "his

R. H. C. P. W.," in speaking of the old and young Pretenders; and even when the latter was in Manchester, she prayed for the King and Prince of Wales, but "named no names."

Among the papers found at Kersal Cell is a diary written by this young lady, then 23 years old, running from August 14, 1745, to January 23, 1746, and covering in a gay and racy manner the main events of the Prince's march, from the time when "an express has come that the rebels are coming, another that they are not," down to the day when the bells are "ordered to be ready to ring" to celebrate the failure of the rising.

Before we quote some extracts from this really charming journal, it may be well, for clearness' sake, to recall in a sentence the rapid and kaleidoscopic succession of events in this ill-fated episode. The Young Pretender did not land in Scotland till the latter part of July; two months later he defeated Cope at Prestonpans; in little more than a month afterwards he was at Preston; and three days after he arrived at Preston he entered Manchester. Three days later, on December 1st, reinforced by a small company known as the Manchester Regiment, he set out for the South; on the ninth he was back in Manchester with a reduced force, levying a contribution; the next day he left for the North, taking with him the remainder of the Manchester Regiment. This remnant he left to garrison Carlisle, and it fell into the hands of the Duke of Cumberland on the last day of the month. Less than four months later the hopes of the Stuarts were extinguished at Culloden. The whole episode had occupied less than nine months.

Charles had nominated as head of the Manchester Regiment (which can hardly have totalled 300 men) a zealous Roman Catholic, Colonel Francis Townley, whose tendency to use profane language drew from Dr. Byrom his famous stanza concluding:

> "For the King's sake the brunt of battles bear;
> But for the King of Kings' sake—do not swear."

Among the lieutenants were Thomas and Robert, the elder sons of Dr. Deacon; his youngest son Charles joined as

Ensign. The Adjutant was Tom Syddall, son of the Thomas Syddall who had suffered the death penalty for his part in the "fifteen." Two other officers, Captain James Dawson (immortalised by Shenstone), and Lieutenant Beswick, were related to the Byroms. The Headquarters of the Pretender were at Mr. Dickenson's house; the building afterwards became the Palace Hotel, and the name is still commemorated in Palace Street and Palace Square, near the top of Market Street, on the northern side. Once, when I was hunting up these streets, and a policeman deemed it his duty to see what I was making notes about, a small boy informed me, with some eagerness, that Palace Square took its name from the adjoining Picture Palace; and indeed it is a fact that the Market Street Picture House, by a curious coincidence, is wedged in between Palace Street and Palace Square. The same Mr. Dickenson purchased Birch Hall, and gave his name to Dickenson Road, Rusholme. We may now turn to Beppy's Diary.

In August Miss Byrom is with her brother in North Lancashire, on a tour, which includes a visit to Blackpool and Lytham for a gallop on the sands. When she returns in the middle of September, there is already "great talk of the Pretender coming." In a few weeks "the Presbyterians are sending everything that's valuable away for fear of the rebels"; and a month later Miss Byrom notes that there are only two Presbyterians at the concert. My Lord Derby is in town getting the militia ready, and rumours come thick. Carlisle has surrendered—the rebels are at Lancaster—some say 7,000, some 30,000—men are pulling up Warrington Bridge, and my Lord Warrington has sent away his plate. By the time they are at Preston there is hardly a family left in Manchester but "ours and our kin," and all the warehouses are empty. Stockport and Barton Bridges have been destroyed, and Salford may have to go too. By November the 27th "there's not above four women hardly left in the Square."

Strange to say the militia were now disbanded. "Well contrived," exclaims Miss Byrom, with a touch of her father's satire, and the natural result followed, for the very next day

" about three o'clock came into the town two men in Highland dress and a woman behind one of them with a drum on her knee and took possession of the town." Writing of this event later, John Byrom says: " My curiosity led me to my sister's window at the Cross, where I beheld this extraordinary event of two men and a half taking our famous town of Manchester without any resistance or opposition." Recruiting was the result; by eight o'clock eighty have been secured; it is a fine moonlight night, and the streets are exceedingly quiet.

[*Block lent by the Royal Exchange Assurance Co.*

Mr. Dickenson's House.

(It stood, facing Market Street, in what is now Palace Square, and was called " the Palace " because Prince Charlie stayed there).

The next day Miss Byrom is at the Cross by eleven, watching the entry of the Highlanders, and by three o'clock " the P." has arrived and is gone straight to Mr. Dickenson's house. The Diary makes no reference to the story that a funeral was proceeding as the Highlanders entered the Square, and that they reverently doffed their caps when they saw it. By the evening the bells are ringing, there is a bonfire, and the streets are illuminated; the whole family " walked up and down to see it." At four o'clock the King had been proclaimed " very cleverly "; she is careful not to describe in detail how the

constables were coerced, but continues: "we sat up till two o'clock making St. Andrew's crosses for the soldiers."

Saturday is St. Andrew's Day. We make more crosses till twelve; then "I dressed me up in my white gown" and went to see the Prince, and "saw him get on horseback, and a noble sight it is, I would not have missed it for a great deal of money." Later, we visit Campfield to see the Artillery, and then, when "the Prince was at leisure and had done supper, we were all introduced and had the honour to kiss his hand."

On Sunday "about six o'clock the P. and the foot set out, went up Market Street Lane and over Cheadle ford . . . . we went up to the Cross to see them . . . . they were all drawn up in the Square and went off in companies . . . . We have no service in the Church to-day, they keep going out all day." The next day the news of Wade's approach produced a reaction. There is a mob, which "got a little frightful . . . . and broke Dr. Deacon's lamp and windows." By Saturday there is "great talk of the Highlanders coming again"; and on Sunday the bellman is crying a notice from Justice Bradshaw that the inhabitants are to "arm themselves with guns, swords, pickaxes, shovels, or any other weapons they can get" to keep the rebels out; and the country folk actually came, armed with scythes, sickles, and all other kinds of weapons, including mopsticks.

On his return Charles asked for a contribution of £5,000, afterwards reduced to one half, and this was paid under pressure. A stray shot fired as the Highlanders were passing through Salford, and leading to a threat from them to fire the town, is the only other incident before they are gone. By Sunday all is "very quiet," and we have "service both ends of the day." Miss Byrom is therefore able on the following day to "smooth the rest of the clothes out," as she describes returning to her ironing. "Washing" on Monday and "smoothing" on Tuesday seems to be the rule; but as the Highlanders left on a Tuesday, "smoothing" that week was postponed till Thursday. A week later she is "washing"; but her mind runs continually on the rumours that have been arriving from the north, as well as from the south, for "they

seem to expect an invasion about London," and are taking precautions accordingly.

By the second of January the bells are once more ringing, a great bonfire is blazing, and illuminations are in every house—not for the Pretender this time, but for the capture of the Manchester regiment at Carlisle; and the Presbyterians are making effigies of the Prince and breaking the windows of his supporters. Clearly times have changed since Miss Byrom put on her white dress and went to kiss the Prince's hand. Her thoughts now are all with the brave officers of the Manchester regiment, whom she knows so well. "Our Manchester men are taken to York, on their way to London," except "poor Bobby Deacon," who is "left ill at Carlisle." He was brought as far south as Kendal, where he died. The Manchester regiment had dwindled to less than a hundred men.

Miss Byrom now goes to her relatives at Baguley for a day's hunting; she has good sport, in spite of the rain, and rides home behind her uncle Houghton, who lives there. "They have ordered the bells to be ready to ring," she writes on her return, "and say there shall be such rejoicing as never was in Manchester before"; but the diary stops abruptly here, and there was no rejoicing in the homes of the Byroms and the Deacons, the Syddalls and the Dawsons and the Beswicks, and others whose relatives were awaiting their trial for treason.

Full reports of the trial appeared in the *Manchester Magazine* of the time, to be followed later by harrowing details of the execution and mutilation of the prisoners, too horrible to be repeated here. Jemmy Dawson's fiancée accompanied him to the place of execution, and according to Shenstone's ballad succumbed to the shock of what she saw there. Even after this a mob smashed the windows of Mrs. Syddall's house, and compelled her to seek refuge elsewhere. The lad Charles Deacon was so far reprieved that he was transported for life. Finally, on September the 23rd, at the end of the last column of one of the weekly papers, where scraps of local news are usually found, we read as follows:—

"Last Thursday, about five in the morning, the heads of Tom Syddall and Thomas Deacon were fixed upon the

Exchange. Great numbers have been to view them, and yesterday, between eight and nine in the morning, Dr. Deacon, a non-juring priest, and father to one of them, made a full stop near the Exchange, and looking up at the heads, pulled off his hat and made a low bow to them with great reverence. He afterwards stood some time looking at them. A gentleman of this town was with him, and a considerable number of spectators were present. He and some of his Flock have been seen to do so several times."

With this pathetic scene in our minds, a painful contrast to the gay enthusiasm of Miss Beppy Byrom with which this chapter opened, we may turn from the rebellion of 1745.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The Progress of Nonconformity.

The Rebellion of 1745 was the last occasion on which either Jacobitism or religious controversy seriously disturbed the towns as a whole, though a number of Nonconformist bodies date their origin from about this time. We have in an earlier chapter traced the birth of Nonconformity from the Secessions of 1662 and the licences of ten years later. Hitherto the National Church had embraced all shades of opinion; from that time there was a tendency to break away and form free churches. With the maze of this free church history we can only deal very briefly.

Of the new organisations none had more far-reaching influence than that of the followers of John Wesley. Wesley first visited Manchester in 1733, when he preached at the Old Church, at St. Ann's, and at Trinity Church, Salford. From that date onwards he paid over a dozen visits, and local Methodism crystallised into an organisation in 1747, its cradle being in the Rose and Crown Yard, near Blackfriars Bridge. In this year Wesley preached at Salford Cross in Greengate, and one of the crowd threatened to bring out the fire-engine to play upon him. By 1765 he was presiding at the annual conference in Manchester, and nearly twenty years later, in 1783, he declared that outside London he had nowhere so many devoted adherents. On the occasion of his last visit, at Easter, 1790, he administered the Sacrament to sixteen hundred communicants. The first Wesleyan chapel was erected in 1751, in Birchin Lane, Salford; the chapel which still stands in Gravel Lane was not founded till 1790.

Meanwhile, other dissenting congregations had sprung into being. George Fox was preaching in Manchester as early as 1647, and again in 1657, when he was rather roughly treated by the crowd, and rebuked the authorities before whom he was summoned to appear. The earliest meeting-house of the

Friends in Manchester, at the corner of Jackson's Row and Deansgate, was built before the end of the seventeenth century, and rebuilt in 1732. In 1795 the community moved to the present site in Mount Street; the meeting-house there, which appears as a prominent object in the pictures of the tragedy of Peterloo, was rebuilt in 1828.

We have already referred to some differences of opinion among the members of the congregation meeting at Cross Street Chapel, known in those days as "the Dissenters' Meeting-house." In 1761, as the culmination of these controversies, a split took place. A majority remained to support and approve the Unitarian doctrines preached from its pulpit; the minority seceded, and founded, in Cannon Street, then one of the residential quarters of the town, the first Independent chapel established in Manchester. The building they erected may still be seen, about half-way up the street on the left-hand side, but it has long ceased to be used for worship. Congregationalists appear in Salford first in 1797. Between the Royal Infirmary and St. Mary's Hospital, in Oxford Road, stands "Union" Chapel, where Congregationalists and Baptists worship together. This church was famous for many years for the preaching of Dr. Alexander Maclaren.

When various divisions arose in the Methodist Connexion, Manchester acted as a rallying point for some of the new bodies, but want of space prevents our entering into these developments, and also precludes the enumeration of other dissenting communities.

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The activity of the various Dissenting bodies, and especially their sympathetic understanding of the needs of the lower classes, made them a more real force than the Establishment in the latter part of the eighteenth century. During the period of acute distress the religious work of John Wesley in particular had a steadying influence. It was not till the next century that fresh life, infused into the Mother Church, led to a recrudescence of zeal, and the creation of a number of new cures, and so made the Established Church once more a power in these towns.

Manchester has distinguished herself by originating one annual ceremony in which Episcopalians, Nonconformists, and Roman Catholics come very near to joining hands. In 1801 began the beautiful Whit Week processions of children arrayed in white which have now for nearly a century and a quarter been a joy to young and old alike.

* * * * *

Roman Catholicism practically disappeared here before the end of the seventeenth century, but by 1760 services were held at Roman Entry off Church Street, and in 1794 St. Mary's Church was built in Mulberry Street. The Bishopric of Salford dates from 1850, when two out of the thirteen Sees then formed were assigned to Lancashire. The Protestants of Manchester held a meeting at the Free Trade Hall to consider these new territorial designations, and in the next year the Ecclesiastical Titles Act was passed forbidding them. This legislation, however, was not popular, and has never been enforced. An influx of Irish residents has strengthened this community.

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The first Jewish synagogue was located in a room off Long Millgate near the commencement of the nineteenth century. Since then a number have arisen for the use of the greatly swollen Jewish population.

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A glance at the first column of the front page of the *Manchester Guardian* on a Saturday morning will show how many sects of very recent date have also found a home here, but these we are compelled to pass over for reasons of space.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Eventful Years.

A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW, 1750—1820.

The people of Manchester and Salford had other things to think about besides religious controversies in the years that followed the Jacobite risings; and it will be well to take a general survey of events for the three-quarters of a century following the forty-five, if we wish to keep our historical perspective true.

During that period England won India and Canada, and lost her American colonies; the French Revolution shook the social system of Europe—the Revolutionary war fostered a hatred of everything that was French—and there was the menace of disaffection in Ireland. The short respite afforded by the Peace of Amiens was followed by the Napoleonic wars, and the various phases of the national danger are fully reflected in the small weekly Manchester papers of the time. Quite as evident is the spirited way in which Manchester and Salford bared their arm by voluntary enlistment in support of the national effort against the common enemy.

INSISTENCE OF DOMESTIC QUESTIONS.

For the great community in South-East Lancashire at that time, however, there were problems of immense moment quite apart from the foreign menace, the establishment of a colonial empire, and the conquest of the sea. In an exactly similar way, when—a century later—Britain was engaged in the great world-war against another foe—a number of vital domestic questions clamoured for solution.

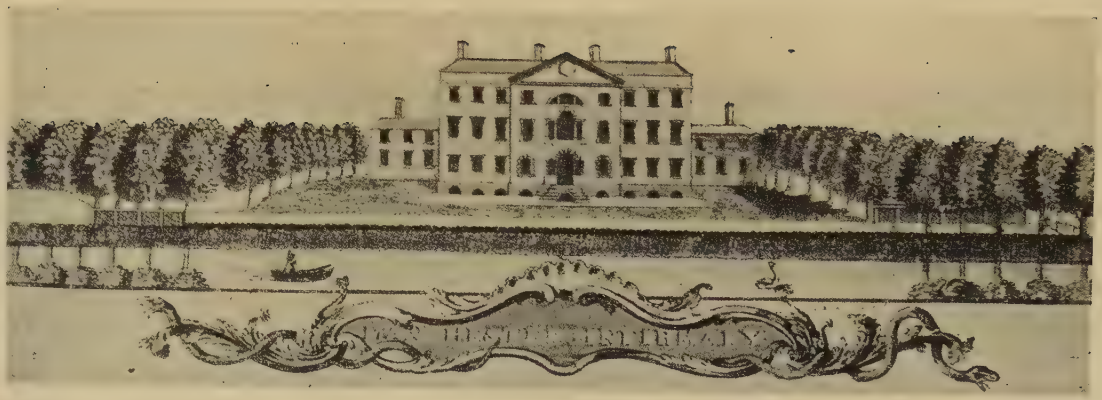
It is significant that Peterloo followed Waterloo at an interval of only just over four years. The fact is that during the period we are considering a new Manchester came into being. The busy country town into which the Pretender rode in 1745 became a thing of the past. Between 1750 and 1820

the population of Manchester and Salford increased at least sevenfold. Invention following invention in rapid succession swept away the manufacturing and commercial methods of centuries, and brought the Industrial Revolution; the introduction of the canal system, moreover, revolutionised communication on the trade-routes; on the other hand, a long series of wars impoverished the country; the rapid increase in population kept wages low; poor and fluctuating harvests reduced the home supply of food; while a vicious fiscal system cut off supplies from abroad. The doctrines of Adam Smith, promulgated in 1776, were as yet appreciated only by the few; and the great industrial population, as yet untrained in methods of combination, could only protest against intolerable conditions, more or less inarticulately, in such manner as by food riots, machine-breaking, and Luddite conspiracies. Against this rather sombre picture we may set some facts of a brighter hue; such as the Abolition of the Slave trade in 1807; the development of philanthropic movements for which Manchester has since become so famous, as evidenced by the support then given to the Infirmary; and finally the loyal and patriotic response of the people of Manchester and Salford to the demand for recruits for the foreign wars. A reference to the regiment raised for service in America, and afterwards sent to Gibraltar, will be found in a later chapter.

LACK OF REPRESENTATION.

During the whole of this period, be it remembered, Manchester and Salford, although they were then actually laying the foundation of the commercial greatness of the country, had no voice whatever in the councils of the nation, except such as they might obtain by petitions, by interviews, and by marches of Blanketeers. Both towns, moreover, were under the antiquated manorial system, and had nothing nearer to a municipal corporation than a Commission of Police.

One cardinal fact for us to bear in mind is, that during this period—partly as the result of the dogged perseverance of generations of textile workers, partly owing to the gravitation of the manufacturers to the coalfields on the introduction of



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The Manchester Infirmary—opened 1755.

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The Manchester Royal Infirmary, Lunatic Asylum and Baths in 1789.

machinery and steam-power, and partly because the place had already become a collecting and trading centre for the South Lancashire area—Manchester was now the metropolis of the staple trade of the district.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.

The history of Manchester and Salford during this period is the story of the Industrial Revolution. Let us pause for a moment to ask what this change actually implied as regards industrial methods and their influence on society, and so try to answer the three questions: *Why* did Manchester suddenly expand so enormously? *Why* did the cotton manufacture so rapidly become one of the leading industries of the country? and *What problems* were raised by these changes?

In the first place, the old domestic system, of which we have seen some picturesque details in an earlier chapter—the system under which spinning and weaving were the occupation of the agricultural labourers in their leisure hours—when "the continued monotonous clickety-click of the loom was heard from every cottage-door"—and the worker largely controlled the manufacture—this old system was fast disappearing. It was being superseded by a new system, under which the work performed by many hands came ultimately into the grasp of one, the peasant class gradually disappeared, and the capitalist arose. The capitalist system, again, was riveted by the great inventions, and a wage-earning class was the result. Thus society was gradually split into well-defined strata.

Next, the capitalist system and the new machinery drew the wage-earning population from the country districts to the towns, and the factory system, with its commercial benefits and its terrible social evils, followed. Thus we have the migration of labour. Of the development of the means of communication and transport—another aspect of the Revolution—we speak in the next chapter. Its agrarian side does not touch Manchester.

Now why, secondly, did the cotton industry rapidly assume such enormous proportions? In earlier years the woollen manufacture had been more prominent; there was even

legislation in its favour, and till 1770 "all-cotton" goods were prohibited. One possible answer would seem to be: (1) that the great inventions in spinning and weaving were all applied primarily to the cotton manufacture; (2) that once the machinery was available, the supply of raw cotton (thanks to America) was practically unlimited, while the supply of wool was more or less constant, till it began to arrive from Australia after 1820; (3) that apart from supplying home needs the Lancashire manufacturers discovered, and laboriously catered for, a great market for their goods in the East.

Lastly, what were the new economic problems set by these great changes? We may see them all exemplified in the Manchester of this period. There were the insanitary conditions inevitable where a great population was crowded together with no previous provision for housing, sanitation, or recreation. There was, again, the question of providing this population with food. The new wage-earning class was bound to protect itself against the capitalist by means of unions; in the early days these unions were often wrecked through want of experience; their present success has come through long years of experiment and failure. The apparent failure of the unions, again, turned men's thoughts to the suffrage, and they began to pin their faith to the millennium promised by chartism. The factory system led to the exploitation of the labour of women and young children; and a series of Factory Acts was the result, mainly due to the efforts of men like Peel, Shaftesbury, and Robert Owen. Lastly, those members of the community who were hit the hardest by the new conditions were the sick and the aged. At long last, State provision has been made for them also. We may now turn to watch this great development in South-east Lancashire.

SECOND PHASE OF THE MANCHESTER TRADE.

Our previous reference to the trade brought us to the epoch of the great inventions. This is not the place to do more than enumerate the principal steps in this great revolution in the textile manufacture, which affected, as we have seen, first the cotton and then the linen and woollen trades. The cotton trade, however, as has already been mentioned, gradually

crowded out linen and woollen manufactures in Lancashire towns with the exception of Rochdale.

THE GREAT INVENTIONS.

The main processes to be considered are, of course, those of ginning, carding, spinning, and weaving. The great improvements in spinning made it unnecessary to use linen or woollen warps, and thus eventually the Lancashire fabrics came to be entirely of cotton. The problem of making warps of cotton was finally solved in the latter part of the eighteenth century; it should always be remembered that the solution of this problem largely decided the commercial fate of Britain.

The great inventors who made this possible were not Manchester men; there is even some dispute as to the names and dates of the actual pioneers. It should be noted first that the inventions were not fortuitous; they are the outcome of the successive needs of the time. Thus, when the process of weaving was accelerated by the invention of the fly-shuttle by John Kay of Bury—who also improved carding machinery—it was necessary to speed up the production of yarn, hitherto dependent on the single-thread spinning wheel; when, again, as the result, the supply of yarn became plentiful, improvements were demanded in the looms which this yarn was destined to feed.

The spinning jenny, said to have been named after his daughter Jane by the inventor, Thos. Highs, of Leigh (some claim priority for Lewis Paul), was in 1764 greatly improved by James Hargreaves, of Blackburn. This invention (which was suggested to Hargreaves by his seeing an overturned spinning wheel continue its motion while on the ground) made it possible to spin a number of threads at once, but as a labour-saving machine it led to riots, which drove the inventor from the county. Five years afterwards, Richard Arkwright, a Preston barber who had settled at Bolton about 1750, combined the processes of spinning and roller-drawing in his spinning frame, known as the water-frame, because it was worked by water-power. Ten years later, Samuel Crompton, also of Bolton, devised a fresh combination of the processes of spinning and drawing in his mule (really a hybrid between the

inventions of Hargreaves and Arkwright) which at last made a fine thread possible. The number of spindles on the mule was increased some years later by Kennedy, and the machine was afterwards made self-acting by Eaton. It was now possible to spin good warp and weft in abundance; the next improvement necessary was a speeding up of the looms which were to absorb this abundant supply of yarn. Accordingly, in 1785, a certain Dr. Cartwright, resident in Kent, conceived the idea of the power-loom, which was first introduced to Manchester in 1790, and afterwards much improved, especially by Radcliffe of Stockport, who devised a process for dressing the web before it was placed on the beam. To these improvements in machinery in England must be added the invention of the American cotton-gin in 1793.

Before we leave this wonderful galaxy of inventions, that burst upon the industrial world in such rapid succession that they may almost be regarded as simultaneous, we may call attention to the fact that Hall i' the Wood, the residence of Samuel Crompton, has now been made a public museum, and that in the Chadwick collection at Bolton a unique series of these early machines may be seen, and examined in detail.

We have spoken of the improvements in textile machinery. At first, water-power was available for utilising them, but the introduction of steam-power was of course one of the main factors of the industrial revolution, rendered possible in Manchester by the supply of coal brought by the Bridgwater canal. By 1790 steam was used for driving a spinning mill in Manchester.

JAMES OGDEN'S DESCRIPTION OF THE MANCHESTER TRADE.

We have a quaint but reliable picture of the Manchester of the end of the eighteenth century, and its trade, in a pamphlet entitled "A description of Manchester," published in 1783. It begins by describing a walk round the town, from which we note that the Tib forms the boundary at the top of Market Street, the Irk in Long Millgate, and St. John's Church in Deansgate. It concludes with a detailed account of the Manchester trade at that time, the chief points of interest for us being the following: (1) the number and variety of the

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Manchester's first Cotton Mill, still standing off Miller's Lane. The white line outlines the original building.

articles manufactured—over forty products of the textile trade are enumerated; (2) the fact that the goods were not all made in Manchester—"fustians," for example, came from Bolton; (3) the reference to the enterprise of the Manchester manufacturers, who—on finding that the Dutch were beating them in making fine Holland tapes—at once invited "ingenious mechanics" from Holland to construct the necessary engines "at great expense"; (4) the "peculiar felicity that attended the trade of this town throughout the whole course of its rise and progress; that when any branch of it failed, the industry and invention of its manufacturers have been so much the more incited to introduce others, whereon to employ their capital, and exercise the ingenuity of their workmen"; further (5) the Manchester merchants discovered that it was cheaper to print their calicoes at home than to send them to London for the process; they therefore induced printers to migrate from London, and in this way "there was a communication of nostrums and chemical secrets"; and the writer sums up by saying that "perhaps nothing has more contributed to the improvements in trade here, than the free admission of workmen in every branch whereby the trade has been kept open to strangers of every description, who contribute to its improvement by their ingenuity." Are we not reminded here of the words used by Pericles in addressing the Athenians 430 years before Christ: "We throw our city open to all, and never, by the expulsion of strangers, exclude anyone from either learning or observing things"?

No exertion of manufacturers or workmen, however, asserts our author, could have answered the demands of trade, without the introduction of spinning machines, and he has some interesting references to cases where rioting operatives have been reasoned out of their oppositon to the new machinery by a fair statement of the ultimate advantages that would accrue from its introduction.

BIRTH OF THE MANCHESTER CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

Eleven years after this little guide appeared, a "Commercial Society" was founded in Manchester, which afterwards developed into the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, though

its functions were suspended during the struggle with Napoleon.

STATISTICS.

It would be interesting to give statistics as to the gradual increase in the number of factories, the number of operatives, and the number of spindles in Manchester, if such were available. We will content ourselves with a few figures concerning the country as a whole. Accustomed as we are to-day to the forests of chimneys of Southern Lancashire, it is a little difficult to realise that in 1789 there were no power-looms in Manchester (they were introduced in the following year), and that there was then in the town only one spinning mill driven by steam. The total number of cotton mills in the whole of Lancashire in 1787 has been estimated at only forty-one, being rather more than a third of the number in England. How rapidly the mills must have sprung up as the dividing line between the centuries was crossed, may be imagined by glancing at the figures of the imports and exports, bearing in mind these two important facts; (1) that even after 1800 cotton goods were pouring into England from India. The effect of the Revolution was to arrest this flow and turn it in the opposite direction. In the year 1788 a meeting was held in Manchester to consider the depression in the trade due to "the importation of Indian goods." So late as 1814 some two millions' worth came from Bengal alone. By about 1830 this flow had ceased, and England was sending eight millions' worth of cotton goods to India. (2) The great leap forward at the end of the eighteenth century is largely due to the rapid development of the American cotton crop. In 1795 the United States sent us $5\frac{1}{4}$ million pounds of raw cotton; by 1820 the amount had risen to 90 millions.

The figures that show the effects of the revolution in the most striking manner, however, are those of the import and export tables, and one example will suffice. In 1751 the value of the cotton goods and yarn exported from the United Kingdom was just under forty-six thousand pounds sterling; by 1820 it was considerably over twenty millions. (It is now more than five times that sum.) The period is exactly that covered by this chapter.

TRANSPORT ABROAD AND THE CONVOY SYSTEM.

Before we close this brief sketch of the second phase of the history of the Manchester trade, it should be remarked that although the canal system facilitated transport at home, the distribution of its products abroad was seriously hampered by the conditions of war which prevailed for a great part of the period we are considering. Merchandise could only be transported in those days at great risks, and although convoys were provided, such a system involved serious delays, as vessels had to wait for escorts and sail in groups. The same remarks apply to the importation of raw material.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS ARISING OUT OF THE REVOLUTION AND THE WAR.

Partly as the result of the Industrial Revolution, partly as a consequence of the long-drawn-out war, economic questions now forced themselves to the front. The enormous advances in the local trade had raised a number of men to positions of wealth; they had also created a labouring class whose needs became ever more clamorous. Chivalrous and patriotic as the people were in supporting the war—in 1804 there seem to have been fourteen separate companies of volunteers in Manchester and Salford, numbering in all between six and seven thousand men—the crowds that watched the drilling of recruits were nevertheless badly housed and ill-fed, and for nearly a hundred years (if we date from the food riot of 1757, known as the Shudehill fight, in which four persons were killed) Manchester was the scene of riots due to the high price of corn, the dislocation caused by the introduction of machinery, and the new inventions. "On every hand the living artisan was driven from his workshop to make room for a speedier, inanimate one. The shuttle dropped from the fingers of the weaver and fell into iron fingers that plied it faster." If we confine ourselves to our selected period—1750 to 1820—riots broke out in no less than ten different years; factories were attacked, and in many cases burnt down. There were even demonstrations of disloyalty in the Theatre on the singing of the National Anthem. In 1808 a dispute about wages led to a riot that was only put down by the military with loss of life. In 1812 thirty-

eight men were arrested for administering the Luddite oath; the Luddite conspiracy for breaking new machines had spread from central England to Lancashire. It is not difficult to understand, and even sympathise with, these reckless men. "The overworked population," writes an eminent medical authority who witnessed the riots, "had scarcely any means of education except Sunday Schools, dame schools, and adventure schools. They were ignorant, harassed with toil, inflamed with drink, and often goaded with want, owing to sudden depressions of trade. They broke out into fierce tumults, in which I have seen mobs gut the mills, destroy the machinery, and burn the factories at mid-day." The same writer goes on to describe the unscrupulous popular leaders at whose mercy these misguided people lay.

Let us take another graphic description from an eye-witness—this time from Mrs. Louisa Potter's "Lancashire Memories": "A wet summer brought a bad harvest; wages were being reduced and provisions rising . . . men gathered in groups, conversing in a low suppressed tone . . . . Then on a still, silent night might be heard the tramp, tramp of the nightly drills. Then followed petitions to Government, public meetings, arrests, imprisonment, and in a few cases executions. Then a lull for a few years, disturbed again by some real or fancied invasion of the masters on the rights of the workmen. Then the same round again." All this is described in detail in Samuel Bamford's writings, and we must link with it what we know of the housing conditions in Manchester at the time—details too horrible to be related here.

LACK OF REPRESENTATION.

It is not surprising that the fact that so great a community was quite unrepresented in Parliament turned the unrest of the time in the direction of Parliamentary reform; and in the year following the conclusion of the Napoleonic war (note how rapidly one event follows the other) the dislocation produced by the end of hostilities led to the beginning of the series of meetings in St. Peter's fields, "to take into consideration the present state of the country," which included the assembly of the "Blanketeers," and culminated in the tragedy of Peterloo.

Block lent by Mr. W. Marcroft.]

Memorial at the Manchester Reform Club to Mr. Hunt, Chairman of the Peterloo Meeting.

PETERLOO.

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

The accounts of this epoch-making event—for such it was—are voluminous but somewhat conflicting. A calm review of the facts helps to remove misconceptions; unfortunately, not all the facts are at our disposal. It is necessary to remember that it was not merely a Manchester meeting, though it was summoned by Manchester people; that Manchester at the time had no corporate government—the Lancashire and Cheshire magistrates, several of them clergymen, were the authorities responsible for the preservation of the peace in Manchester; and that the event preceded—indeed largely helped to further—the triumph of the reform movement.

The reports in the *Manchester Gazette* and the *Manchester Chronicle* do not correspond. It must be confessed, however, that while the *Chronicle* espoused the side of the magistrates, the views taken by various papers in the country—the *Times* and the *Scotsman* for example—lean in the other direction. On the other hand, a special trial held at Lancaster nearly three years afterwards, at which damages for assault were claimed by one of the injured persons, resulted in a verdict for the defendants, and appeal was disallowed.

We may refer to a few other points before coming to the narrative. The principal speaker announced for the meeting—"Orator Hunt"—a Wiltshire farmer of some means, who had been prominent for some time as a leader of the Radical reformers, appears to have been a shrewd man, wishful to keep within the bounds of the law; but his speeches and letters have an irritating, inflammatory touch about them, that could hardly fail to lead to misunderstanding, and it was evidently misunderstanding that lay at the root of the mischief. One of the acknowledged leaders among the workers, Samuel Bamford, a weaver of Middleton, whose life was devoted to the advocacy of reform, is more consistent.

Lastly, the movement was by no means confined to men. Women were organised also, and not a month before the great meeting the "Manchester Female Reformers" issued an appeal to "the wives, mothers, sisters, and daughters of the higher and middle classes of society," describing the priva-

tions which had made the petitioners "sick of life, and weary of a world where poverty, wretchedness, tyranny, and injustice have so long been allowed to reign among men," and asking them to join in the struggle for Reform.

THE STORY OF PETERLOO.

The facts seem to be these : a meeting was called for twelve o'clock on August 9th, 1819, in the area near St. Peter's Church, then unoccupied, "to take into consideration the most speedy and effectual mode of obtaining Radical Reform in the Commons House of Parliament; and to consider the propriety of the unrepresented inhabitants of Manchester electing a person to represent them in Parliament." Henry Hunt was to preside, and the Borough-reeve, Constables, and magistrates were invited to be present. The magistrates some days later proclaimed this meeting to be illegal. The Reformers then sent a representative to Liverpool to take counsel's opinion, which supported the magistrates' decision. The meeting was therefore abandoned.

The Reformers now approached the Borough-reeve and Constables with a requisition signed by over a thousand, asking them to convene a meeting "to consider the propriety of adopting the most legal and effectual means of obtaining a Reform in the Commons." As the authorities appear to have made no reply to this, it was announced that a meeting would be held on August 16th. This the magistrates met by issuing a Royal proclamation enjoining people to abstain from drilling and so forth.

Meanwhile Mr. Hunt, who had heard nothing of the delay, had arrived via Stockport, and was warmly welcomed as he made his way to Smedley, where he was to stay. He issued a manifesto on August 11th, which was couched in too violent language. Preparations were afoot and the fateful day arrived.

The authorities were busy early. They posted a notice urging the peaceable inhabitants to remain indoors with their children and servants. At eleven o'clock the magistrates took up their station at Mr. Buxton's house in Mount Street; 300 special constables were drawn up between this house and the

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A contemporary Plan of the site of Peterloo.

hustings, and the military were posted out of sight. Several contemporary plans of the site are extant, and it is not difficult to reconstruct the scene.

If we stand to-day at the top of South Street, where it cuts Windmill Street, we shall be almost on the site of the hustings, which consisted of two carts and some boards. We must then imagine that the whole space is cleared, from Windmill Street on the south right away to the Friends' Meeting House on the north, and from Mount Street on the east to Watson Street on the west; for, strangely enough, the scene of the tragedy has since become the chief centre of Manchester's entertainments, and is now occupied by the Free Trade Hall, the Tivoli, the Theatre Royal, the Gaiety, the Association Hall, and the Y.M.C.A. The space where the Midland Hotel now stands was then occupied by a high-walled garden, in which stood Cooper's cottage, which seems to have given its name to Cooper Street; and along the site of the present Midland Buffet in Mount Street ran a row of some half-a-dozen new houses, in one of which, Mr. Buxton's, the magistrates were assembled. Between Number 6, Mount Street and the hustings a double cordon of between two and three hundred special constables, carrying their batons, formed a lane reaching right to the improvised platform, and the troops, numbering between one and two thousand, were disposed as follows: One troop of the Manchester Yeomanry (a raw corps recently formed mainly to assist the civil power) was concealed in Pickford's Yard, off Portland Street; a second troop of the same Yeomanry, with four troops of the 15th Hussars and eight troops of the Cheshire Yeomanry were waiting, dismounted, in Byrom Street and St. John's Street, on the other side of Deansgate; another troop of Hussars was acting as escort to a detachment of Royal Horse Artillery posted in Lower Mosley Street with two long six-pounders; nearly the whole of the 31st Infantry were hidden away in Brasenose Street; and some companies of the 88th, brought into the town for the occasion, were "in ambush" in the neighbourhood of Dickinson Street.

Into the open space thus surrounded the Reformers—some of whom had marched from as far afield as Bury and

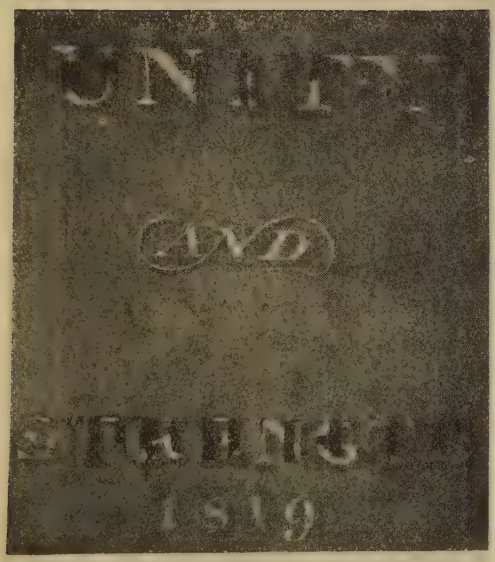


Photo by R. H. Fletcher.] [*Block lent by Manch. Univ. Press*

One of the Banners carried at Peterloo (now in the Reform Club, Middleton).

Block lent by Dr. H. Guppy.]

Wroe's Picture of Peterloo.

Rochdale—poured unwittingly in excellent order, the result of previous drills to that end, with bands playing, silk banners flying, caps of liberty held aloft, and girls in white dancing and singing; some approaching by way of Mosley Street, others along Deansgate. Four or five abreast they marched, their banners, some of which were beautifully worked in coloured silk, proclaiming the Rochdale Union, the Lees and Saddleworth Union, the Royton Union, the Oldham Union, and so on; "Universal Suffrage," "Annual Parliaments," "Vote by Ballot," "No Corn Laws," *et cetera.* The design that provoked the most criticism afterwards, and was used as "evidence" at the trial, was a black one inscribed "Equal Representation or Death." The National Anthem was sung at twelve-thirty, and soon after one a procession headed by a barouche drawn by the people swept round the corner of Deansgate into Peter Street and made for the platform. Standing up in the carriage was Mr. Hunt; on the box-seat sat the President of the Manchester Female Reformers. Arrived at the hustings, Hunt was at once voted to the chair, and taking off his white hat, which had become the symbol of Radicalism, he began his speech, facing an impressive crowd of some sixty thousand, consisting of men, women, and children.

The magistrates, however, who had hitherto remained apparently in a state of indecision bordering on panic, and had sat till midnight without being able to decide upon any definite plan of action, having reminded the Home Secretary that they had no power, as the law stood, to interfere with the meeting, had at length made up their minds. If a few of the inhabitants of Manchester could be prevailed upon to put their names to a paper stating that they considered the meeting a danger to the town, that would justify the authorities in arresting the leaders. Thirty names were at once forthcoming, and a warrant for the arrest of the speakers was handed to the Deputy Constable, Nadin, a fierce-looking man, the paid official of the Court Leet. He declared that the three hundred special constables at his disposal were not a sufficient force to enable him to execute it. The magistrates therefore despatched mounted messengers to Portland Street for the

Manchester Yeomanry, and to St. John's Street for the Hussars and the Cheshires. A few minutes later, the Manchester Yeomanry came trotting round what is now the Mount Street corner of the Midland Hotel, and halting for a moment in great disorder, for they had no command of their horses, made a dash for the hustings, striking with their swords as they entered the crowd. Raw and untrained as they were, they were soon so hopelessly entangled and dispersed that the chairman of the magistrates afterwards described them as "completely defeated."

At this moment Lieut.-Colonel L'Estrange cantered up Lower Mosley Street with the 15th Hussars and the Cheshire Yeomanry, the latter riding along Windmill Street to the hustings, and halting there; the former lining up along Mount Street. "What am I to do?" asked Lieut.-Colonel L'Estrange, looking up at the window where Mr. Hulton, the chairman, was standing. "Good God! Sir," ejaculated that dignitary, without even waiting to consult his brother magistrates, "don't you see they are attacking the yeomanry? Disperse the meeting." It was a fateful decision. The sequel sent a thrill of horror through the whole country. The poet Shelley, who was in Italy, felt the thrill, and his "Mask of Anarchy" was the result. The Hussars had not even time to halt when their trumpeter sounded the charge, and beating back the crowd with the flats of their swords, and sometimes (as one of their own officers afterwards frankly acknowledged) with the edges also, they swept the square from Mount Street to Deansgate so rapidly and effectively that in ten minutes those who were watching from upper windows (and we have reliable accounts from several of such) looked down upon an empty space, empty save for human beings lying in heaps, sabred, crushed, and trampled, and a group of perspiring horsemen dismounting to loosen their saddle-girths. The multitude that had assembled to consider the reform of the Commons were now fleeing, many of them bleeding, along the roads they had traversed a few hours before with bands playing and banners flying, their hearts full of an exultant hope that at last something was to be done for their suffering humanity. A careful investigation later by the Relief Com-

Photo by R. H. Fletcher.] [*Block lent by Manch. Univ. Press.*

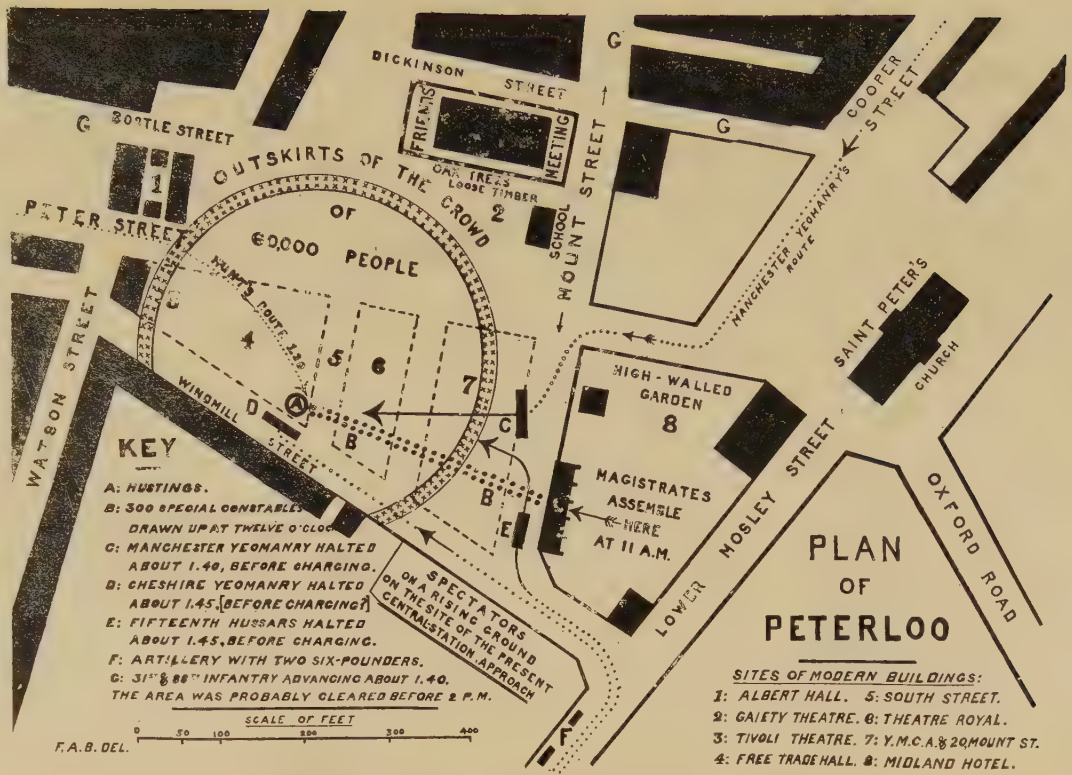
Three Relics of Peterloo.

1. Head of Banner-pole, shaped like Cap of Liberty.
2. Constable's baton, bearing Royal Arms.
3. Plume of 15th Hussars.

(All found in St. Peter's fields, after the tragedy.)

Block lent by Mr. W. Marcroft.]

The Peterloo Medal.


PLAN OF PETERLOO
OUTSKIRTS OF THE CROWD OF 60,000 PEOPLE
KEY
A: HUSTINGS.
B: 300 SPECIAL CONSTABLES DRAWN UP AT TWELVE O'CLOCK
C: MANCHESTER YEOMANRY HALTED ABOUT 1.40, BEFORE CHARGING.
D: CHESHIRE YEOMANRY HALTED ABOUT 1.45, [BEFORE CHARGING?]
E: FIFTEENTH HUSSARS HALTED ABOUT 1.45, BEFORE CHARGING.
F: ARTILLERY WITH TWO SIX-POUNDERS.
G: 31ST & 88TH INFANTRY ADVANCING ABOUT 1.40.
THE AREA WAS PROBABLY CLEARED BEFORE 2 P.M.
SCALE OF FEET
0 50 100 200 300 400
F.A.B. DEL.
SPECTATORS ON A RISING GROUND ON THE SITE OF THE PRESENT CENTRAL STATION APPROACH
MAGISTRATES ASSEMBLE HERE AT 11 A.M.
HIGH-WALLED GARDEN
SITES OF MODERN BUILDINGS:
1: ALBERT HALL. 5: SOUTH STREET.
2: GAIETY THEATRE. 6: THEATRE ROYAL.
3: TIVOLI THEATRE. 7: Y.M.C.A. & 20 MOUNT ST.
4: FREE TRADE HALL. 8: MIDLAND HOTEL.
BOOTLE STREET
DICKINSON STREET
FRIENDS MEETING
OAK TREES
LOOSE TIMBER
PETER STREET
MOUNT STREET
SCHOOL
COOPER STREET
MANCHESTER YEOMANRY'S ROUTE
SAINT PETER'S CHURCH
WATSON STREET
WINGMILL STREET
LOWER MOSLEY STREET
OXFORD ROAD

[*Block lent by the Manchester University Press. By permission of Dr. Guppy.*]

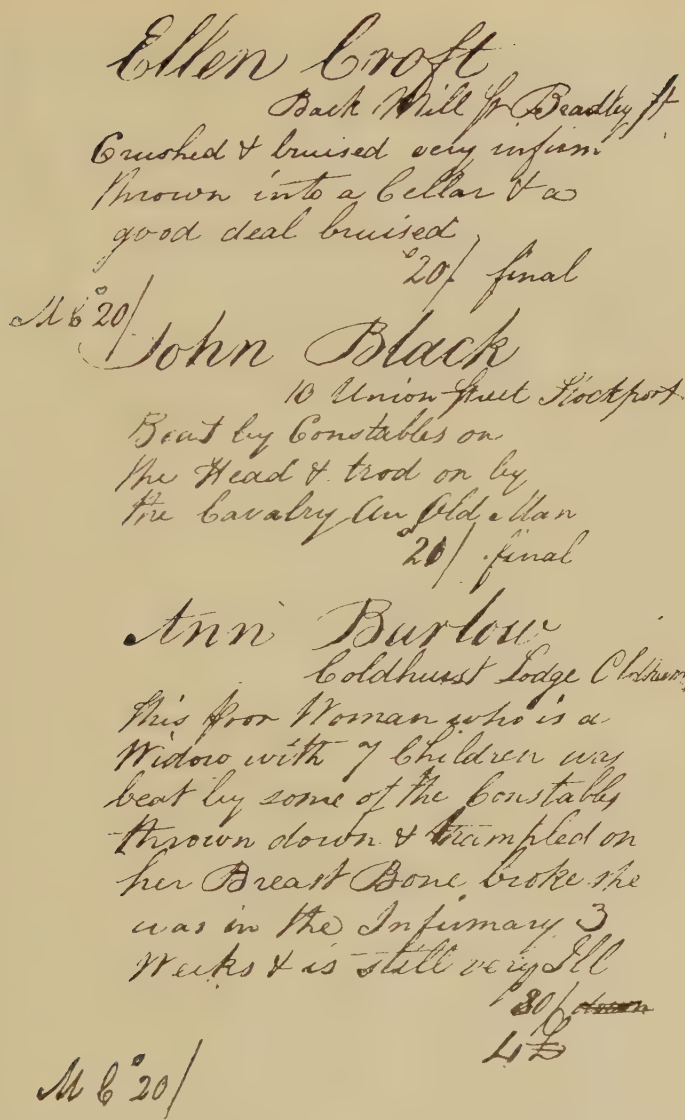
mittee put the casualties at eleven killed and nearly six hundred wounded. One of the special constables was killed on the spot; others who had no sympathy with the Reformers were seriously injured.

All was now confusion. The streets were patrolled by the military; the shops were closed and silent; some rioting took place in the evening in the neighbourhood of New Cross, and the military were called out again with fatal results. Rumours of a large body of Reformers marching on the town armed with pikes, though quite baseless, produced considerable apprehension.

THE IMMEDIATE SEQUEL.

Much indignation was expressed in the country at this summary treatment of an assembly called together in an orderly manner to discuss Parliamentary reform; but the thanks of the Prince Regent were, nevertheless, conveyed by Lord Sidmouth to the authorities for their efforts to preserve the public peace; and Hunt and others were committed for trial on a charge of conspiracy. In the following year Hunt was sentenced to $2\frac{1}{2}$ years' imprisonment, and Samuel Bamford and three others to confinement for twelve months. Bamford has left a graphic and, apparently for the most part, fair account of the whole episode in his "Passages in the life of a Radical." Hunt's autobiography and letters are less readable. Besides these, we have descriptions of the event by Bishop Stanley, Lord Hylton, and Mr. J. B. Smith, all of whom were present.

The "Six Acts"—passed to repress agitation—followed Peterloo in the same year, but the movement for Reform went on. Manchester—as in the time of the Civil War—had given a lead to the country, and the agitation that had had such tragic results at Peterloo eventually culminated in the Reform Act of 1832. Before we come to that, another epoch-making event claims a chapter to itself.


Ellen Croft
Back Mill St Bradley St
Crushed & bruised very much
Thrown into a Cellar & a
good deal bruised
20/ final
M & C 20/
John Black
10 Union Street Stockport
Beat by Constables on
the Head & trod on by
the Cavalry An Old Man
20/ final
Ann Barlow
Coldhurst Lodge Oldham
This Poor Woman who is a
Widow with 7 Children was
beat by some of the Constables
Thrown down & Trampled on
her Breast Bone broke she
was in the Infirmary 3
Weeks & is Still very Ill
80/
L E
M & C 20/

By permission of Dr. Guppy.]
[*Block lent by the Manchester University Press.*

One page of the Account-book of the Peterloo Relief Committee.

CHAPTER XXV.

Improved Means of Communication.

TRAVEL IN EARLY TIMES.

As occasion offered some reference has been made in these pages to modes of travel and means of transport in early times. Of the former we find picturesque details in the diaries of local men like Henry Newcome and John Byrom, the one written in the seventeenth, the other in the eighteenth century.

"We set out for Cambridge," writes Newcome in 1671, "six horses we were, and we seemed to design more pleasure than (it may be) was fit for us. The weather being good we set out about nine. By the time we had rid a little above two miles my cousin Hannah fell in a dry ditch, and pulled her horse upon her, and cut her brow very sadly. Mrs. Robinson thrown off her horse at the bridge and dragged her foot on the stirrup. Mrs. Katherine could not ride, insomuch that we had to go at a foot's pace, and it was late and rainy. We were forced to return to our inn, for my poor cousin Hannah was fallen into a pond . . . . The next day we were for Bedford, but broke the axle-tree of the coach. Going over the ferry I fell coming out of the boat, and the horse trod upon me . . . . going over the ford, through my unskilfulness, I went over in the stream."

Byrom, writing in the following century, tells of "a tumble like to break his thigh," and on another occasion his right arm is "sore with whipping and hagging along the awkward little hobbling horses" supplied to him in posting from Derby.

The great impetus given to trade in the last quarter of the eighteenth century necessitated improvements in the roads that radiated from Manchester and Salford as from a central metropolis, because along these roads in the days before the railway flowed the constant stream of traffic. Between 1750 and 1820 we have at least twenty Acts of Parliament for

From the Collection of the late Fletcher Moss.] Worsley Old Hall.

Here Brindley and the Duke of Bridgwater worked out the details of the famous Canal.

From the Collection of the late Fletcher Moss.]

The Bridgwater Canal, Worsley.

improving road-communication with the surrounding towns in Lancashire, Derbyshire, and Cheshire; those in the direction of Rochdale and Bury being most frequently mentioned. These Acts are crowded round the last decade of the eighteenth century, no less than four occurring in 1793. About a score more were passed between 1820 and 1860.

The speed of traffic on these roads may be gauged by the announcements of a particular firm in 1796: "The wagons will go from the warehouse near Tib Street, Manchester, every morning, and arrive at Huddersfield in the evening; and from Huddersfield every morning, and arrive at Manchester in the evening (Sundays excepted)." This firm was then competing for goods traffic with the Aire and Calder Navigation Company, and its freight charges from Manchester to Hull (then a great port of embarkation for the Continent) were fifty shillings a ton. Within a short distance from the centre of Manchester these roads were crossed by toll bars, some of which persisted down to the middle of the nineteenth century. The tram-stops Kersal Bar and Brooks's Bar recall, the first a public, and the second a private, gate of this kind.

It is now time to turn and deal in some detail with the lead which Manchester gave to the country and the world in the matter of canal and steam transport, for before the date of the great parliamentary, economic, and other reforms which will occupy the next chapter, the town had become the terminus of the first genuine English canal and the first passenger railway in the world.

THE BRIDGWATER CANAL.

The rivers Irwell and Mersey were made navigable to Liverpool for boats of fifty tons as early as 1721; the wharf at the end of Quay Street is a prominent feature in local maps long before this street was anything more than a lane bordered with fields. The launching of vessels at this wharf is periodically reported in the local papers, and an accident which occurred there to the *Emma* in 1828, when many lives were lost, forms the subject of a chapter in *The Manchester Man*.

In 1759 Francis Egerton, third Duke of Bridgwater, realising the importance of improved transport for the development of his Worsley estates, on which valuable coal mines

were located, conceived the idea of connecting Worsley with Salford by a level canal, to be fed partly by the water pumped from his mines. Brindley, who was consulted, and afterwards became the engineer of the scheme, suggested that it would be better to carry the canal to Manchester, taking it across the Irwell at Barton; and in 1760 an Act was obtained sanctioning the undertaking. In the very next year the canal was opened, and the Duke, who was then only twenty-five years old, had won his title as the father of inland navigation in England.

The aqueduct by which the canal was carried across the Irwell was long considered one of the triumphs of engineering skill, and it remained in use till the construction of the Ship Canal in the nineties necessitated its removal. "The spectator," says the *Manchester Directory* for 1860, "is here gratified with the extraordinary sight, never before beheld in this country, of one vessel of burden sailing over another." Nowadays he is greeted with the still more extraordinary sight of a vessel on the upper waterway floating in a closed tank, swung round with horse and attendant to allow the vessel on the lower waterway to pass.

The subterranean canal system at Worsley, to which this waterway afforded an outlet, extends for over thirty miles, and as the underground channels are at two levels, the boats passed from one to the other by sliding down an inclined plane. The Bridgewater Canal entered the Medlock a little above the junction of that stream with the Irwell, a portion of the Medlock being canalised to form the Castlefield Wharf. The junction of the canal with the Irwell by means of locks was accomplished in 1838.

The immediate result of the construction of this canal was that Manchester now had an abundant supply of coal, and the price of that commodity fell to about one-third of the original figure. It will be noted also that in the year following the opening of the canal the appearance of Hargreaves' spinning jenny began the series of the great inventions. Matters, however, did not rest there. By 1772 the canal was continued viâ Runcorn, to Liverpool; and in the same year a passenger service was instituted. The extension involved another aqueduct at Stretford, and the level was preserved by carrying

By permission of the Manchester Ship Canal Co.]

The aqueduct that formerly carried the Bridgwater Canal over the Irwell at Barton.

Block lent by the Manchester Reference Library.]

Salford Cross. [*From Ralston's drawing.*

The Cross, which stood in Greengate, was removed in 1824.

the waterway across Sale Moor on an embankment. It is not necessary to follow the further extensions and ramifications of the inland waterway system whose infancy was fostered by the enterprise and financial ability of the third Duke of Bridgewater, and the engineering skill and indomitable perseverance of Brindley.

THE MANCHESTER AND LIVERPOOL RAILWAY.

Meanwhile, the congestion of traffic due to insufficient land-transport was crippling the trade that had made such leaps and bounds forward, that by the year 1825 thirty thousand power-looms were working in Manchester alone. Mr. Huskisson, member of Parliament for Liverpool, and President of the Board of Trade, explained in the House of Commons that "cotton was detained a fortnight at Liverpool, while the Manchester manufacturers were obliged to suspend their labours, and goods manufactured at Manchester could not be transmitted in time, on account of the tardy conveyance." The prime mover in the matter of a railway was a Liverpool merchant, Joseph Sanders, who had himself felt the inconvenience to an acute degree. The project was strongly opposed by the Canal Company, which then held the monopoly, and by the wealthy landowners. Among those whose names appear on the first prospectus, issued in 1824, were a number of well-known Manchester merchants, and the four thousand £100 shares were speedily subscribed. George Stephenson made the survey on which the scheme was based, but the opposition was such that the Bill of 1825 was lost. As the result of a new survey the Act was obtained, at a cost of £27,000.

Stephenson was appointed engineer, and he began his work on Chat Moss in June, 1826. Enough of the moss still remains to enable us to form some conception of the task of "floating" a permanent way on this morass. The work on this line brought into being the "navvy," as a new class of labourer. Sixty-three bridges—including one over the Irwell—the Sankey viaduct, consisting of nine arches seventy feet high, a number of deep cuttings, and a tunnel at Liverpool, were included in the engineer's task, and he was, further, successful

in winning, with the *Rocket*, the prize of £500 offered for the Locomotive Competition at Rainhill.

The station at the Manchester terminus still stands, almost unaltered, in Liverpool Road, though it is now only used for goods traffic. The platform, even the original ticket window, are yet to be seen there, as well as the site of the warehouse in which luncheon was laid for the distinguished visitors present at the opening ceremony on September the 15th, 1830; also the sundial bearing date 1833. The story of this epoch-making event has often been told. The traveller on this line from Manchester to Liverpool to-day sees on his left, as he passes Parkside, a monument to the statesman who was one of the main movers in the undertaking, and whose tragic death at this spot threw such a gloom over the day's proceedings. Some graphic details of the events of that day are given by Fanny Kemble in her "Record of a Girlhood": "We started on Wednesday last to the number of about eight hundred people. The most intense curiosity and excitement prevailed, and though the weather was uncertain, enormous masses of densely-packed people lined the road, shouting and waving hats and handkerchiefs as we flew by them." Suddenly "a man flew by us calling out through a speaking trumpet to stop the engine, for that somebody in the Directors' carriage had sustained an injury." Miss Kemble was the guest at the time, at Heaton Park, of Lord Wilton, who rendered first aid to Mr. Huskisson, and brought him to the vicarage at Eccles, where he died shortly afterwards.

Meanwhile the thousands who lined the stands and roofs at the station in Liverpool Road, Manchester, were astonished to see a single engine approaching instead of the special train they had anticipated. The single engine brought Stephenson and the Earl of Wilton in search of medical aid. The projected ceremony was afterwards carried through, but with little spirit, and when the train arrived in Manchester the Duke of Wellington remained in his carriage during the luncheon. Other details clouded the day's proceedings apart from this melancholy accident. "The vast concourse of people," writes Miss Kemble, "who had assembled to witness the arrival of the successful travellers, was of the lowest order of mechanics

Photo by R. H. Fletcher.]

The first Railway Station in the world.
(Still standing in Liverpool Road, off Deansgate.)

Photo by R. H. Fletcher.]

The Platform of the first Railway Station, still to be seen. The barred window on the left is the old Ticket-window.

and artisans, among whom great distress and a dangerous spirit of discontent with the Government at that time prevailed. Groans and hisses greeted the carriageful of influential personages in which the Duke of Wellington sat." A tricolor flag was waved, there were cries of "No corn laws" and "Vote by ballot," and for about two miles the cheering of the great body of the crowd was interspersed with the continual hissing and hooting from the minority. "High above the grim and grimy crowd of smiling faces a loom had been erected at which sat a tattered, starved-looking weaver, evidently set there as a representative man, to protest against the triumph of machinery, and the gain and the glory which the wealthy Liverpool and Manchester men were likely to derive from it. The contrast between our departure from Liverpool and our arrival in Manchester was one of the most striking things I ever witnessed."

On the following day the railway was opened for the conveyance of passengers, though the original object of the line had been its goods traffic. According to the first advertisement in the press "the public were respectfully informed that Railway carriages start from Crown Street, Liverpool, and Liverpool Road, Manchester, at seven, twelve, and four (first class), and at ten-thirty and two-thirty (second class). There was also a Sunday service. The fare, which was at first seven shillings, was shortly after fixed at six and sixpence to four shillings, according to class, which was less than the fare by coach. The respective times by train and coach were one and a half and four hours. Even expresses were obliged to halt at Parkside to oil machinery and take in water.

Liverpool Road Station was used as the Manchester terminus from 1830 to 1844, when the line was extended to meet the Manchester and Leeds Railway at the new station at Hunt's Bank, now the Victoria Station of the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway. The London and North-Western Company erected their own station at Exchange in 1884.

In the poem, "Locksley Hall," the line occurs:—

> "Let the great world spin for ever down the ringing grooves of change."

Tennyson's own note to this line is as follows: "When I went by the first train from Liverpool to Manchester (1830) I thought that the wheels ran in a groove. It was a black night and there was such a vast crowd round the train at the station that we could not see the wheels. Then I made the line."

THE EXPANSION OF THE RAILWAY SYSTEM.

Two things must be borne in mind if we are to follow successfully the maze of the development of the railway system of Manchester—first, the physical configuration of the district, which largely determined the direction of the new lines; secondly, the mania for railway construction which followed on the successful opening of the first line, a mania which led to the serious projection of such schemes as "The Ribble and Humber Junction or Preston Blackburn Burnley Bradford Leeds York and Hull direct Union Railway"; and drew from *Punch* the suggestion for a "Great North Pole Railway forming a Junction with the Equinoctial Line with a branch to the Horizon."

From 1842 to 1847, when the craze died down, we may count twenty-five Acts of Parliament for railways connected with Manchester, and though there were several attempts in the direction of a Central Station, the net result has left Manchester with the inconvenience of a number of blind termini.

Manchester, as was pointed out in our first chapter, lies in the "Cheshire Basin" of the geologists, with a wall of lofty uplands to the north and east, the approaches to which lie naturally up the valleys of the rivers that flow from them. To the south and west the exit from Manchester is comparatively simple; to the east and north the difficulties of the engineers were greater, and they seized upon the valleys of the Roch, the Tame, and the Etherow as the best means of approach to the mountain wall that had eventually to be pierced by tunnels; availing themselves again of the river valleys that were open to them on the further slope.

The existing railway companies are the result of various schemes of amalgamation and re-naming, which gradually absorbed the numerous separate lines that came with the

rush of speculation. Naturally the schemes did not all mature as rapidly as was wished; and though several Acts were passed as early as the year following the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester line, it was not till 1838 that Salford was linked with Bolton (the station being located in New Bailey Street). It had been possible to reach London viâ Earlstown in the preceding year, the journey taking from ten to eleven hours.

Connection having been established with Liverpool, London, and Bolton, attention was turned to schemes for piercing the Pennines, and reaching the great centres of industry in Yorkshire. By 1839 the Manchester and Leeds Railway, starting from a station in Oldham Road (now no longer used for passenger traffic), had reached Littleborough on the western side of the mountain-wall; in the following year the line from Leeds had reached Hebden Bridge; and by 1841, the Summit Tunnel having been cut, passengers were able to travel from Manchester up the valley of the Roch, and down the valley of the Calder to Wakefield, and so on to Leeds by Normanton. The tunnel—extending 2,869 yards—was the longest yet constructed. "Taking it as a whole," said Stephenson, who was the engineer, "I do not think there is such another piece of work in the world." This line viâ Leeds established communication with York, Darlington, and Hull. There was, about this time, an outcry from those who held scruples about Sunday traffic, and separate balance-sheets had to be prepared for the more conscientious shareholders, excluding the Sunday profits.

Manchester now aspired to have its own line to London viâ Birmingham. Proceeding by stages, by 1842 the Manchester and Birmingham Railway was opened. Passengers left by the old Store Street or Bank Top Station (now London Road), and travelling by Stockport, Crewe and Birmingham, reached London in nine and a half hours. Sleeping accommodation was supplied even on these trains of so early a date. London Road Station, therefore, now took the place of Liverpool Road as the starting place for London; and thus already by 1842 we have in Manchester four separate termini, one for Liverpool, one for Bolton, one for Leeds, and one for London.

The coat of arms of the old Manchester and Birmingham Railway has recently been re-painted and hung above the North-Western ticket window at London Road Station.

Meanwhile a more direct line into Yorkshire was in course of construction, the route of the Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway, now the Great Central. As in other cases, the line was constructed by sections, the tunnel through the Pennines constituting the last step. By an arrangement with the Manchester and Birmingham Company, London Road Station was fixed as the Manchester terminus. By 1841 the line was open from Ardwick to Godley, and in the next year it was extended to Dinting, crossing a lofty viaduct over the Etherow at Mottram. Depression in trade and other matters delayed its completion. Passengers for Sheffield therefore travelled from Manchester to Dinting by rail, and then from Dinting over the bleak Pennine roads to Sheffield by coach, accomplishing the whole journey in five hours. By 1844 the great Dinting viaduct had been constructed, and the line carried up to the mouth of the Woodhead Tunnel. By the next year a line up the Don Valley had linked Sheffield with Dunford Bridge, at the other end of the tunnel, and the railway was completed in seven years altogether. The Woodhead Tunnel, which was doubled in 1852, is 5,300 yards long, and was then the longest yet constructed.

Thus by 1845 five separate railway lines entered Manchester, with four separate stations. Through passengers were obliged, at great inconvenience, to cross the town from one station to another, and goods had to be transported and re-loaded. Various attempts were made to bring the companies together, and devise a scheme for a joint station. The net result of these efforts was the construction of Victoria Station, to reach which the Manchester and Leeds Railway branched off near Collyhurst to Hunt's Bank, and the Liverpool and Manchester Railway was carried through Salford on arches to the same point. The new station was then the largest in the country, consisting of a single platform 284 yards long, reaching from Hunt's Bank to Ducie Bridge. The discarded stations at Oldham Road and Liverpool Road now became goods depôts and are still so used. This combination established through

traffic from London to Liverpool, and from Liverpool to Yorkshire, viâ Manchester. Exchange Station, erected nearly forty years later for the London and North-Western Railway, was not opened till 1884.

In 1849 the Huddersfield and Manchester Railway utilised the valley of the Tame to establish, by the Stanedge Tunnel, another link with Yorkshire; from the same year dates the Manchester South Junction and Altrincham Railway; but it was not till 1867 that the Midland obtained its first footing in Manchester, and then only by an arrangement with the Sheffield Company for running powers from New Mills.

The steps by which the original Manchester and Leeds Railway became the nucleus of the great system now known as the Lancashire and Yorkshire; and the Liverpool and Manchester, the Manchester and Birmingham, and the Huddersfield and Manchester, were absorbed into the North-Western system, need not be enumerated here. Since the above was written further amalgamations have culminated in the London, Midland and Scottish Raiway. The system known as the Cheshire Lines had its origin in various efforts made by the Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire Company to obtain a footing in the west, and to link their system with Liverpool. The Cheshire Lines Committee was incorporated in 1867, and its Central Station, opened ten years later, gave the Midland an opportunity of running into Manchester in 1880. The present arrangement of Manchester lines and stations cannot be said to be convenient or economical, and some scheme of co-ordination and linking of termini is sorely needed.

It was fitting that Manchester, the home of the first railway, should be the home also of the world-famous "Bradshaw." Mr. George Bradshaw, a philanthropic member of the Society of Friends, born at Pendleton, was already known as the publisher of Bradshaw's Maps of Inland Navigation, when he issued, in 1839, Bradshaw's Railway Time-tables. Two years later Bradshaw's Monthly Railway Guide made its appearance, to be followed in 1847 by its Continental companion. Mr. Henry Blacklock, a partner in the firm, died in 1871; and it is in his name that the business is now carried on.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Manchester and Salford at the Time of the Reform Bill.

The events which now follow one another in quick succession up to the middle of the nineteenth century are—the passing of the Reform Bill, which gave to Manchester and Salford parliamentary representation, the incorporation of the two towns (Manchester in 1838, Salford in 1844), the Chartist agitation, and the movement for the Repeal of the Corn Laws, which was accelerated by bad harvests and the privations and consequent civil disorder of the hungry 'forties.

It is right to pause here and take stock of the changes in the outward aspect of the place since our last picture in the middle of the eighteenth century. Since that date the great advance due to the Industrial Revolution had multiplied the population, not only of Manchester and Salford, but of Lancashire as a whole, sevenfold. We have a whole series of maps and plans since the map of Casson and Berry appeared in 1751. We have, in addition, a number of Directories and Guides, many of which are excellent of their kind.

There are two valuable records for the last few years of the eighteenth century—an exceedingly careful survey made by Green, completed in 1794, and a reliable description of Manchester by Ogden, published in 1783. From the latter we have already quoted, in speaking of the Manchester trade. Starting from Castlefield, the site of the Roman fort, on an imaginary perambulation of the town, Ogden takes us "over the fields" to the head of Tib Lane, near Booth Street. This, he asserts, affords "an agreeable walk and a pleasant prospect." Following the Tib to the top of Market Street, passing on the way "some cottages on the waste now demolishing," he notes that this is the limit of dwelling-houses in this direction. Descending by Miller's Lane (now Miller Street) he remarks that the houses round Long Millgate do not extend

Copied by R. H. Fletcher from a coloured print at the Reference Library.]

Uniform of the First Battalion Manchester and Salford Independent Volunteers, Commanded by Lieut.-Col. George Phillips.
(Dated May, 1805.)

Block lent by Mr. T. Swindells.]

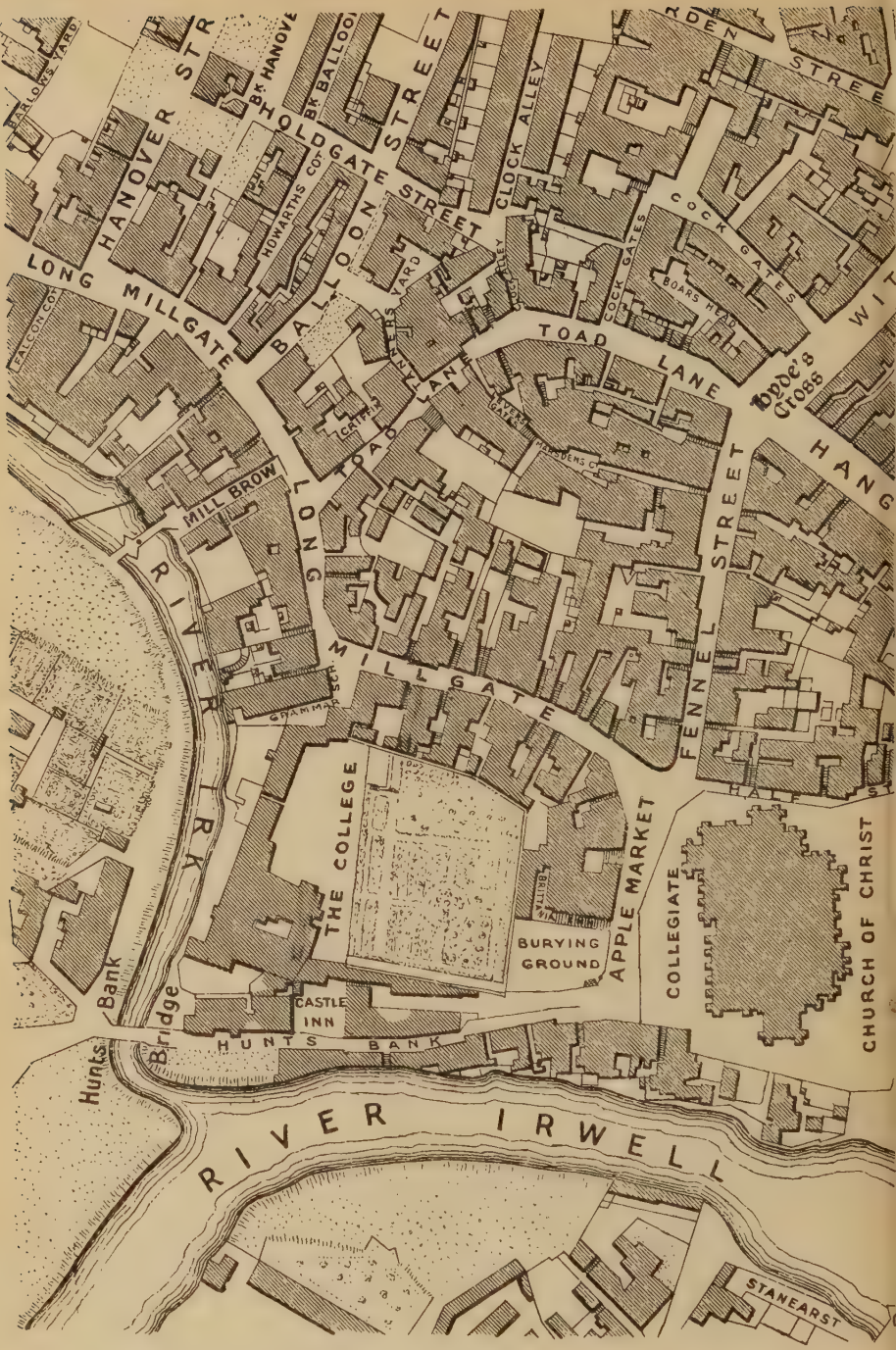
Garratt Hall,

which stood near the junction of Shooter's Brook with the Medlock, where Upper Brook Street now commences.

beyond the Irk. Passing along Deansgate he finds the building of the New Bailey Bridge just commencing, and the town does not appear to extend much beyond St. John's Church.

It was of this Manchester of the end of the eighteenth century that De Quincey wrote in his "Confessions" that "the newly-projected Oxford Street then existed only as a sketch in the portfolio of a Surveyor." As a matter of fact the first section of Oxford Road, leading from St. Peter's Church, was opened in 1790. Those who are puzzled at finding a Rusholme Road just south of Grosvenor Square, should remember that in the olden days the traveller to Rusholme passed that way after traversing London Road. Long after the date we have mentioned, St. Peter's Church (the site is marked to-day by a cross), which De Quincey attended as a boy, stood quite in the open. "In a great city like Manchester," wrote De Quincey, "the very suburbs could hardly be reached in five minutes from Long Millgate"; Greenheys "stood in the country, Manchester not having yet overtaken it"; indeed he states that Greenheys in 1792 "was separated from the last outskirts of Manchester by an entire mile."

Here, in open country, stood the "modest mansion," known as Greenhay, built by De Quincey's father; "a solitary house, forming a *terminus ad quem*, beyond which was nothing but a cluster of cottages, composing the little hamlet of Greenhill." Telling how, as a child, he stood listening for the carriage in which his father was "coming home to die among his family, in his thirty-ninth year," De Quincey speaks of "the sound of wheels coming from the long winding lane which then connected us with Rusholme Road." The bridge which he mentions as "the arena of daily combat (Sundays excepted)" between his brother and himself and the mill operatives, "stones being the implements of warfare," must be the one that crosses the Medlock just below Oxford Road Station. This bridge was then "a new creation," for "previously all passengers to Manchester went round by Garratt"; that is, they crossed the Medlock just below Garratt Hall, at the end of Princess Street.



Blocks lent by Messrs. Sherratt and Hughes.

A portion of Green's Map of Manchester, 1787—1794. Note especially that the present Cross Street, Corporation Street and Victoria Street do not exist.

Passing now to the year of the Reform Act, which we have chosen for our new survey, we find that when—in antipication of the passing of the Bill—the Borough-reeve and Constables of Salford judged it necessary, in March, 1832, to perambulate and define the boundaries of their township, they decided that the only reliable authority was the excellent survey completed by Green in 1794. Taking this as their guide, they resolved that the details and boundary marks should be laid down on Bancks's map, published in 1831. Perhaps we cannot do better, then, than take Bancks's map as our guide now.

It will give some idea at the outset of the limited area then covered by Manchester if we say that in Aston's "Picture of Manchester," issued in 1827, the town is said to be bounded by the Medlock on the south and the Irk on the north. One thing that strikes us as we look at these early plans is the way in which the whole area is cut up by canals, rivers, and streams, now largely enclosed or built over; artificial waterways communicating with the surrounding towns; the tortuous Medlock, wriggling like a snake across the southern portion of the map; the winding Irwell, the more direct Irk, the thin thread of the Cornbrook, fragments of Shooter's Brook, and still fainter traces of the fast disappearing Tib.

Comparing the map of 1831 with that of 1750, we find that, on the north, houses straggle out as far as Strangeways Hall; along the Irk, and along Oldham Road; but the mass of buildings stops at Newton; Collyhurst being quite in the open. There are a few scattered dwellings in Cheetham and Broughton; Pendleton, with its Green and Maypole, stands quite by itself; it consists mainly of small mansions in park-like grounds, some cottages and a few mills. There was a service of small omnibuses to this and other outlying villages. Salford has extended due west as far as the present St. Stephen's Street; along Windsor as far as Cross Lane; and west of Ordsall Lane between Chapel Street and Regent Road; but the one railway bridge marks its limit southwards. The single railway—which here appears on the map for the first time—crosses the Irwell from Salford, and terminates at the station which may still be seen in Liverpool Road. Besides this railway bridge there are six other bridges across

Copied by R. H. Fletcher from the drawing at the Reference Library.]

Market Street before it was widened.

PUBLIC LIBRARIES OF MANCHESTER

Copied by R. H. Fletcher from the drawing at the Reference Library.]

Market Street, before it was widened.

the Irwell, several of them levying tolls, seven across the Irk, and nine across the Medlock. Regent Road runs past the Infantry Barracks, through open country dotted with farms. Ordsall Hall is quite isolated, surrounded by its moat; Hulme Hall also stands free. Castlefield is bare, the canal that now crosses it being hidden in a tunnel till 1840; south of this the houses straggle along one side of Chester Road as far as Cornbrook and the Cavalry Barracks; then all is open. Hulme consists entirely of fields, in the middle of which stands Hulme Farm. Chorlton "Row" (now Chorlton-on-Medlock) reaches as far as the Cornbrook and runs out to Burlington Street, on the west side of Oxford Road; then come fields again. Along Upper Brook Street the houses do not even extend as far as the Cornbrook, and Plymouth Grove consists of a few detached residences. Eastwards, Ardwick, with its long serpentine-like pond, is almost the limit. St. Peter's fields have been largely built over since their tragedy, but the space between Peter Street and Windmill Street is still bare. Gorton and Longsight show a few houses in the fields.

Already the immense increase in traffic has necessitated several important street improvements. Before the incorporation the expense of these was largely defrayed by public subscription, the first Act authorising this being obtained in 1775. Some of these improvements are so radical that to us it seems difficult to imagine Manchester without them. The Market Street of to-day has been described as the most congested thoroughfare in Europe; before 1821, when it was widened and straightened, it was at times impassable. Up to 1831 the broad thoroughfare that now runs northwards between the Cathedral and the Exchange Approach did not exist; instead, houses were crowded between the churchyard and the the river down to the waterside; pedestrians approaching Market Street from Broughton climbed a flight of steps and went round the churchyard; vehicles must turn to the left at the top of Hunt's Bank, and go by Fennel Street. London Road was improved in the next year; it was not till 1850 that Corporation Street opened up a way northwards from Market Street; the only route available before this would seem to be through the crowded Market Place, which had been

relieved of the stocks, pillory, and cross as early as 1815, the Salford cross and stocks following in 1824. The streets, moreover, would be badly paved, and poorly lighted. Windmill Street to-day, and the Windmill Tavern then, remind us that a windmill stood, as late as 1812, on the rising ground near where the Central Station is now; the remains of another windmill we may still see in Salford, by looking across the river from the Crescent.

The map of 1831 is liberally sprinkled with churches and public buildings, the two that catch the eye as the most prominent being the New Bailey Prison in Salford and the Smithfield Market in Shudehill. The prison was pulled down in 1871. Besides the Old Church, now the Cathedral, which was the central place of worship for both towns till Holy Trinity, Salford, was built in 1635, there are some eighteen other churches, three Roman Catholic places of worship, and about forty chapels of various denominations.

The old saying to the effect that "Salford came to Manchester for her education, while Manchester went to Salford for her amusements," was partly due to the fact that the first theatre and the first racecourse were both in Salford. "One of the prettiest sights," writes a contemporary of this period, "was to see Squire Trafford driving his four greys spiritedly along" to the Whitsuntide race-meeting. What we note now, however, is that nearly all the great public buildings and most of the literary, scientific, and other institutions are springing up on the Manchester side of the river. Salford has its Town Hall, completed in 1827, and opened by Lord Bexley, whose name is given to the square in which it stands. This building has been enlarged on at least three separate occasions, curiously by gradually absorbing buildings adjoining it, which were originally erected as markets. In the same year a dispensary was opened on the site of what is now the Royal Salford Hospital. Pendleton Town Hall was not built till forty years later.

In Manchester, however, quite a galaxy of public buildings have been rising since about 1820; evidence that the arts, the sciences, and philanthropy were keeping pace with the enormous growth in trade, and consequently in wealth and

Photo by R. H. Fletcher.]

Houses in St. John's Street, Manchester.

Typical of residences in the town in the early years of the nineteenth century.

Block lent by the Manchester Reference Library.]

Interior of the Old Reference Library in King Street. This was formerly the Manchester Town Hall.

population. Leaving out of view the old halls, of which both towns could boast splendid examples, already in 1832 Manchester had—besides her churches and the always picturesque "College"—a Town Hall, built in 1822, the façade of which is now preserved in Heaton Park, her Exchange, built in 1806, her Royal Institution, erected in 1823 (now the City Art Gallery), and the Portico Library; while fronting the long ornamental water in Piccadilly, on the finest site in the town, stood the Royal Infirmary, to which a new front was added in the very year we are considering, the Lunatic Asylum, and the Public Baths; all of these being first-rate buildings in classical styles; besides her railway station (still standing and actually in use) and a number of hospitals and other institutions. The Athenæum followed six years later, but the Free Trade Hall, the Assize Courts, the present Bank of England, and many other prominent buildings, are of course of more recent date.

As the years went on, the distinction became ever more pronounced, and though Salford has in recent times erected her own Technical School, which greatly enhances the effect of the fine terrace at Peel Park, and many other institutions, she has never come near overtaking Manchester in this respect. Indeed, building in Salford has, of necessity, progressed in other directions. The large area of the Docks included within the Royal Borough has brought about the erection of enormous engineering and other works in that quarter, and these, again, have called for increased housing accommodation; an altogether disproportionate area of the older township has been absorbed by huge railway viaducts and extensions; while the more elevated parts in the north have developed into residential quarters which have been as freely used by Manchester workers as by those from Salford, so that here again the old proverb seems to be coming true.

To return to 1832. Apart from places of worship, we may count at this time in Manchester some thirty literary, scientific, or philanthropic institutions, among the last of which we find provision for the poor, the friendless, the deaf, the dumb, the blind, and so on. Education is represented by the Grammar School, Chetham's Hospital, the Ladies' Jubilee School, and a

number of elementary schools; there are the Portico Library and Club and the Royal Institution; and the Literary and Philosophical Society had been founded as early as 1781.

Manchester was now connected with Liverpool by a railway, but the coaches were still running. For about half a century the chief coaching-house was the Bridgwater Arms, a building which is still to be seen just off the top of Market Street, between Bridgwater Place and Bread Street. We have records of notable persons who stayed there, including Southey and De Quincey. It was from the Bridgwater Arms that De Quincey set out on a ride that he has immortalised in "The English Mail Coach." In 1827 the coaching centre was moved to the Royal Hotel, at the junction of Market Street and Mosley Street, and here the coaches from London, York, Liverpool and Birmingham were timed to arrive each day at four o'clock. "To see them drive into the yard, one after the other, almost to a minute," says a contemporary, "was an unfailing delight. I have seen the London mail coming at full speed down Piccadilly, while I have heard the horn of the guard of the York mail as it came down Oldham Street." Almost at the same moment the Birmingham coach would emerge from Mosley Street and the Liverpool coach would rattle up Market Street.

Not more than one or two newspapers survived from the eighteenth century. The *Manchester Guardian*, price 7d., was started as a weekly paper (of a single sheet) in 1821; the *Manchester Courier* followed in 1825; the *City News* does not date further back than 1864. The first Manchester and Salford Directory was published in Salford in 1772. It consisted of less than fifty pages, and contained—in addition to a list of residents—a table of local officials and particulars of coaches and passenger-boats. A subscription club in Mosley Street, known as the Assembly Rooms, was opened in 1792, and lasted for over half a century. An Act licensing the Theatre Royal was obtained in 1775, and the building stood, first in Spring Gardens, then (in 1807) in Fountain Street, and was finally erected in Peter Street in 1845. Prince's Theatre was not built till 1864. In *Harrop's Mercury* for March the 5th, 1776, there is an advertisement of a performance of a "New"

Copied by R. H. Fletcher from Ralston's drawing.]

Market Place and the Second Exchange in the Eighteenth Century.
(Note the narrow entrance to Market Street.)

Photo by F. Ireland.] In the City Art Gallery. *[Block lent by Messrs. Sherratt and Hughes.*

Comedy, entitled "The Rivals." Apparently cock-fighting and bull-baiting continued to be popular sports. A plan of the Kersal Moor Racecourse, dated 1832, shows—besides the grand stand and racing stables—a detailed plan of the cock-pit, with seating accommodation, as well as arrangements for bowls and archery. A "Ladies' Stand," with refreshments, was opened on Kersal Moor in 1780. As late as 1820 a Broadside advertising the Eccles Wakes (not so very far afield) states that "Two Bulls in great practice have been purchased for the occasion." There were a number of balloon ascents from Manchester and Salford dating from 1832.

Some twelve years later than the year we are considering a great step forward was taken by both towns in the opening of Peel Park, Queen's Park, and St. Philip's Park. The first occupies the site of the Larkhill estate, purchased by private subscription in 1844, and the library there is declared to be the first free public lending library instituted in the country. In addition to the Chetham Library, opened about 1656 (from which books are not borrowed), Manchester had a subscription library as early as 1757. The Manchester Free Library was opened at Campfield in 1852.

Even to-day it is possible in fine weather to realise, as we stand on the terrace at Peel Park and look northwards, the beauties of the situation then, beauties which may yet be partly redeemed; and the fame of the fruit trees of the front gardens of the houses that sweep round the Crescent behind it has been told many times. The statues that now adorn the terrace followed one another in fairly rapid succession after the Park was purchased.

The local newspapers contain reports of a number of festive and social gatherings; we may instance just two of these. In one of the scrapbooks at the Chetham Library may be seen a large-page print of a public dinner given on December 4th, 1832, in honour of Mr. Hope, the Conservative candidate at the first Parliamentary election. The event took place just a week before the election, in the Theatre Royal, the floor of the pit being raised so as to be level with the stage. Seven hundred and thirty gentlemen sat down to dinner, after which 400 ladies were admitted to the galleries to hear the

speeches. Three weeks later the Liberals, who won both of the seats at the election, celebrated their victory by a similar event in the same theatre, when 800 sat down to dinner and many were admitted to the wine and speeches which followed.

In this chapter we have dealt with the outward aspect of the two towns. We shall have something to say later of the social conditions.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Reform.

Into the decade and a half that followed the opening of the first railway are crowded some of the most momentous events in the story of the city and the social and political history of the country. By two great strides forward the citizens of Manchester and Salford obtained direct representation in national and in local government; factory legislation first took definite form; the administration of the Poor Law was amended; there was legislation in the interests of public health; the first steps were taken in the matter of State aid for education; the agitation for the People's Charter and that for the Repeal of the Corn Laws went on side by side; and the doctrines of the so-called "Manchester School" were evolved. Meanwhile the Industrial Revolution, one of the root causes of this great social upheaval, pursued its relentless course, and no place in the country played a more signal part in these movements than Manchester, or was more deeply influenced by the unrest, the cross-currents, and the clash of interests, that characterised these years. In considering the period we must bear in mind the three strata of society as then constituted—the labouring classes, the middle classes, and the wealthy capitalists who were getting more and more out of touch with the other two sections.

In feudal times the Barons of Manchester and Salford had been summoned to the Great Council, and for a brief period Manchester, as we have seen, sent a member to the Long Parliament. There do not appear to be any details of an election in this case. Worsley seems to have been nominated by Cromwell, whose henchman he was, and we have an "indenture" signed by the Constables of the town and parish of Manchester, notifying the "choice and election of Charles Worsley." Two years later Worsley was succeeded by Richard Radcliffe of Poolfold. The representation (if repre-

sentation it can be called) lapsed at the Restoration, and now for nearly two hundred years the two towns had had no voice whatever in the council of the nation.

Both towns were, moreover, still under the antiquated manorial system, with no local government except such as was exercised by the Court Leet and by a Commission of Police. The latter had been instituted in 1792 for Manchester and Salford jointly; in 1829 separate bodies were, by Act of Parliament, constituted for the two towns. It was under this system of local government that the old Town Hall in King Street was erected (1822-5); later it served as a Reference Library. When it was demolished the frontage was re-erected in Heaton Park.

PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION.

The agitation for Parliamentary Reform, in which South Lancashire had borne no mean share, culminated in June 1832, when—by the Reform Act—Manchester was granted two representatives at Westminster, and Salford obtained one. In December of the same year the first elections took place. We may read graphic descriptions of these early contests in the newspapers of the time, the method pursued being of course different from that of the present day, and many of the squibs and broadsides they produced may still be seen at the local libraries. In Manchester the hustings were erected in St. Ann's Square, in Salford in Bexley Square; here the various candidates were nominated in long speeches followed by a show of hands, and the voting was carried out by each elector signing his name publicly in a book.

Already, two years earlier, "Orator" Hunt, the chairman of the Peterloo meeting, had successfully contested Preston against a very able representative of the Stanleys, afterwards Lord Derby. In the first Parliamentary election after the Reform Act there were five candidates for the two seats at Manchester, and three for the Salford vacancy. The nomination occupied one day and the poll was open for the two following days; as the result two Liberal members were returned for Manchester, William Cobbett, the Independent Radical (afterwards member for Oldham), appearing at the

bottom of the poll. The new members were Mr. Mark Phillips, a local reformer of some note, who headed the poll with 2,950 votes, and Mr. C. P. Thomson, who became President of the Board of Trade. The same members were returned in 1835, and again in 1837, when Mr. W. E. Gladstone, standing as a Conservative, was at the bottom of the poll.

In Salford the Conservative candidate, Mr. William Garnett, who resided at Lark Hill (now the Peel Park Museum) was also defeated by the Liberal candidate, Mr. Joseph Brotherton, who sat as member for Salford from 1832 till his death in 1857, when he was succeeded by Mr. E. R. Langworthy. On the pedestal of his statue in Peel Park are inscribed the words of "Brotherton's motto": "My riches consist not in the extent of my possessions, but in the fewness of my wants." Neither Manchester nor Salford returned a single Conservative member till 1868. John Bright was elected for Manchester in 1847 and again in 1852, but appeared at the bottom of the poll in 1856, just after the Crimean War.

By the Act of 1867 Salford obtained two representatives, and Manchester three. When the election came Mr. Jacob Bright was third on the list for Manchester. He had already headed the poll at a by-election, and it was in this contest that a woman whose name had been placed on the register by mistake recorded her vote in his favour. The further reform of 1884 divided Salford into three and Manchester into six constituencies, and it was then that Mr. A. J. Balfour began his long association with its representation.

By the Reform Act of 1918 Salford retains its three divisions, but the number of Manchester constituencies has risen to ten. It is interesting to note that the choice of these brings once more into prominence names that are connected with the earliest records of the city. It seems a pity that the Salford divisions should be doomed to retain their less romantic compass-names.

MUNICIPAL INCORPORATION.

The great and beneficial change which followed next upon the attainment of Parliamentary representation was largely due

to the energy and persuasive eloquence of Richard Cobden, who wrote that "it would be a new era for Manchester when it shook off the feudal livery of Sir Edward Mosley to put on the democratic garb of the Municipal Reform Act." We are

MANOR
Of Manchester.

Having perceived with regret that many BUTCHERS still persist in Selling FLESH MEAT in their own Houses, apart from the regular Markets of the Manor, although several of them have been Prosecuted, and excused upon their promise not to commit such offences again.

I HEREBY GIVE NOTICE,

That every BUTCHER who shall hereafter Sell *FLESH MEAT* on Tuesdays, Thursdays, or Saturdays, out of the legal *MARKETS*, will be Prosecuted with the utmost Rigour of the Law, and that I shall not in future accept of any Submission from BUTCHERS so offending.

Given under my Hand at Manchester, this 27th Day of October, 1821,

Oswald Mosley, *Bart.*

Lord of the said Manor.

Manchester; Printed by M. WILSON, Barlow's Court, Market-street.

Copied by R. H. Fletcher from the original in the Reference Library.]

Notice issued by the Lord of the Manor in 1821.

now to see the battle between privilege and popular representation, which had been fought out on the great arena at Westminster in 1832, resumed and contested on the more modest stage of the new boroughs.

The system of local government in vogue at the time was hopelessly antiquated and ineffective. The lord of the manor summoned a Court Leet at his will, and the jurors proceeded to elect a Borough-reeve and some other officials. The growth of the town necessitated improvements, and for these there were police commissioners, elected on a limited suffrage. Surveyors were appointed at the vestries, and the accounts were submitted to a parish meeting. Salford, in a similar manner, was governed by a Court Leet as a manor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and by its own Commissioners. The Constables of the out-townships were appointed by the Court of the Hundred.

The Municipal Corporations Act was passed in 1835, and in the next year a Commission appointed to enquire into the government of Manchester reported that riots and disorder were apt to occur, and that as there was no civil power the military had sometimes to be called in. It was in the following year that Cobden, having been summoned to attend as one of the jurors at the Court Leet of the manor had his eyes opened to the real state of affairs. "Well, what in the world does all this mean?" he exclaimed. "Is it that in this great town of Manchester we are still living under the feudal system? . . . . Why now I will put an end to this thing . . . We will get a charter of incorporation for Manchester." He issued, in five thousand copies, a scathing pamphlet entitled "Incorporate your Borough," and signed "A Radical Reformer." The argument was based on the logic of facts marshalled with great skill, but with no lack of candour. "Peterloo," he said, "could not have happened if your borough had been incorporated. Why? Because the magistrates of Lancashire and Cheshire, who entered the town and sat at the Star Inn to take command of the police and order the soldiers to cut down and trample upon unarmed crowds, would have no more jurisdiction over Manchester than over Constantinople."

A town's meeting was called, at which Cobden spoke at length, and a petition nearly a hundred yards long was sent to Parliament. The opposition party sent a counter petition, bearing more names, and for three weeks Cobden was engaged

at the Town Hall exposing the falseness of the signatures, and (as he termed it) "getting at the filth in the Augean stable." The eventual result was that the Royal Charter constituting Manchester a borough was received on November the first, 1838. The next month took place the election of councillors for the fifteen wards into which the town was divided. The first Mayor of Manchester was Mr. Thomas Potter. Cobden himself was returned as an Alderman for the Medlock Street Ward, and he remained on the Council till 1844, the year in which Salford obtained its municipal charter, and elected as its first Mayor Mr. William Lockett. After considerable discussion Broughton and Pendleton were incorporated in 1853; and the three townships became a County Borough in 1889. The Town Halls of Broughton and Pendleton were erected in 1854 and 1867 respectively. The Salford Arms were granted in 1844: the motto is "Integrity and Industry": the device does not bear a ship as in the case of the Arms of Manchester.

The Incorporation of the Borough did not, of course, cancel the manorial system under which both towns laboured. The Lord of the Manor continued to exercise his authority in the matter of fairs, markets, and other details, as is shown by posters still extant. Moreover, those opposed to the change refused for some years to recognise the rights of the new authority. It was not till 1846 that the purchase of the manorial rights from Sir Oswald Mosley for £200,000 (mentioned in an earlier chapter) was completed, and Manchester finally shook off its shackles. On the other side of the Irwell the burgesses are proud to recognise the reigning sovereign as Lord of the Manor of Salford.

It was in 1893 that the title "Lord Mayor of Manchester" was conferred on the Chief Magistrate of the City.

GATHERING STORMS.

The new Corporations found work ready to their hand. Already, nearly two months before the first municipal election took place in Manchester, two great political movements were looming on the horizon. On September the 24th of this same year a great gathering, estimated by some at over a quarter

of a million, assembled on Kersal Moor to demand the six points of the People's Charter, and was addressed by Feargus O'Connor and Joseph Raynor Stephens. The dominant note of the speeches was to the effect that Chartism was a question not of politics but of food. Chartism, in fact, in these crowded districts, was a cry of distress rather than a reasoned creed. On the very same day the first meeting of the Anti-Corn Law Association was held at the York Hotel in King Street, just above where Lloyd's Bank now stands. It is strange to find that the supporters of two movements that would seem at first sight to have much in common were largely opposed to one another. Samuel Bamford, again, one of the leaders in the Peterloo demonstration, is at no pains to conceal his contempt for the Chartists. It was characteristic of Cobden that he should seize the opportunity afforded him to bring the matter of the Corn Laws before the Corporation, and should decide also that the scattered elements of the radical outbreak might be rallied round the same question.

Three facts served to fan the flame of discontent that was now assuming dangerous proportions: first, the disappointment at the meagre achievements of the great Reform Parliament; secondly, the resentment felt at the working of the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834; thirdly, the feeling that prompted legislation to regulate the conditions of life in factories, especially as regarded child labour.

We must keep carefully in mind certain special features of the situation. There was, for example, at that time, no healthy public opinion; hence abuses were allowed to flourish through sheer ignorance of their existence or their malignity. Then the march of the Industrial Revolution hit some classes more hardly than others: especially was it severe on an industry like weaving, where the old and the new systems ran for a long time side by side. "History," wrote Marx, "discloses no tragedy more horrible than the gradual extinction of the English hand-loom weavers." Hence the most ardent Chartist recruits were the hand-loom weavers, and we must not forget that they had had no such political education as falls to the operatives of to-day.

The machinery of the movement in favour of factory

legislation was passed on, so to speak, to the agitation against the new Poor Law, and this again was merged in full-fledged Chartism, which may date its official birth from the meeting at Birmingham in August, 1838.

CHARTISM.

It has been said that Chartism derived its programme from London (the Charter was drawn up by the Working-men's Association there); its organisation from Birmingham (where one of the Conventions was held); and its *personnel* and vehemence from Lancashire and Yorkshire. Though we are here principally concerned with the last of the three, and it is not our business to tell the history of the agitation, let us not forget that the best men among its leaders advocated constitutional methods, and that it must always redound to their credit that, with a single exception, all the reforms they aimed at have been realised at length.

The story of the Chartist movement has been told by a Manchester man, and in his hands it has become a romance. He points out very forcibly that on February 4th, 1839, there met in London, within a stone's throw of one another, the Chartist Convention, the Anti-Corn Law Conference, and the Imperial Parliament. "It was the portentous beginning of a triangular struggle which all but transformed the political and social character of the United Kingdom. The gage of battle was thrown by the successive rejection in Parliament of motions for Parliamentary Reform and for the Repeal of the Corn Laws. A ten years' war followed."

Throughout this year (1839) excitement, panic, and terror reigned in the manufacturing districts. The Chartists met sometimes in the open fields where we now see Granby Row; and I have myself heard a very old man describe how he once saw the cavalry break up a crowd there. There were torchlight processions which led to factory burning and the destruction of property, and on more than one occasion Chartist prisoners, on their release from gaol, were welcomed and paraded in Manchester streets. Yet Chartism—"bitter discontent grown fierce and mad"—never went to such lengths in Manchester, perhaps, as in some other towns; possibly for

the reason that the practical common-sense of the Manchester man (expressed, for example, in Samuel Bamford's writings) saw something more tangible and attainable in the agitation for free trade in corn. In one respect Chartists and Free-traders were together: both had waited in vain for the great Reform Parliament to do something.

In April Sir Charles Napier was appointed to the command of the northern district with five or six thousand troops of various arms and eighteen guns. He kept nearly three thousand troops in Lancashire alone, and since Manchester was regarded as a centre of possible disorder, Colonel Wemyss was stationed there with two thousand men and guns. "Be ready," ran a handbill circulated in Manchester at this time, "be ready to nourish the tree of liberty with the blood of tyrants"; and "Universal bread or universal blood" was the text of a placard affixed to the church door at Ashton-under-Lyne.

The movement failed, only to raise its head once more three years later. But the Anti-Corn Law League now held the field, and the second petition of the Chartists met the same fate as the first. The Chartists and the Anti-Corn Law Leaguers came into collision on more than one occasion, as *e.g.* in 1841, when there was a fight in Stevenson Square. The French Revolution of 1848 gave the occasion for a great meeting of Chartists in front of Salford Town Hall, and the menace to public order due to the excitement of this time was so serious that a special proclamation was issued by the Mayor, and three hundred police, assembled at Oldham Road Station, visited the Chartist clubrooms, and made a number of arrests. The number of special constables sworn in April of this year was about twelve thousand. We need not follow the movement through its later phases. It is only fair to repeat that the dreams which the Chartist pioneers cherished of purity of election and adequate representation were realised when those who had fought and suffered for them had passed away.

THE ANTI CORN-LAW AGITATION

Meanwhile the Anti Corn-Law Association had developed into the Anti Corn-Law League, and the town which had

grown to be the commercial capital of Lancashire now became the home of a great national cause. By raising the question of the Bread-tax Lancashire men opened up the whole question of the Condition of England. Carlyle's voice was heard more than once at this time, thundering in the *Edinburgh Review* and elsewhere, urging that neither Parliamentary Reform, nor—that attained—the removal of the Bread-tax would bring the Millennium. Yet both were steps in the right direction, and the second reform has been described as "the beginning of our great modern struggle against class preponderance at home, and the dawn of higher ideals of civilisation all over the world."

What concerns us here is that although the movement for the abolition of the Corn-Laws did not originate in Manchester, and Cobden was by no means the first leader in the agitation, nor was this agitation the first in which Cobden was engaged, yet it was the genius of Cobden that discerned the season when to take occasion by the hand, and it was not until Manchester men took up the question that any serious attempt was made to rouse the country. The Free Trade Hall remains as a monument to the systematic thoroughness of this great campaign, the methods of which have served as a model for such campaigns ever since.

Every elector in the Kingdom received a small library of tracts; the missionaries of the movement were sent out far and wide; and in one year more than a hundred tons of printed matter were distributed. It was in 1841 that Cobden paid the memorable visit to John Bright, then (to use Bright's own words) "in the depths of grief, I might almost say of despair." "There are thousands of homes in England at this moment," said Cobden, "where wives, mothers, and children are dying of hunger. Now, when the first paroxysm of your grief is past, I would advise you to come with me, and we will never rest till the Corn Laws are repealed." The invitation was accepted. "For seven years," said Bright, "the discussion on that one question—whether it was good for a man to have half a loaf or a whole loaf—was maintained, I will not say with doubtful result, for the result was never doubtful, and never could be in such a cause." In this same year a cartload of petitions

was sent from Manchester to London, petitions praying the Queen not to prorogue Parliament till the distress of the people had been considered. A meeting of delegates from all parts of the country made the same appeal, as did an Assembly of Christian ministers of all denominations. Money poured in—a single bazaar in Manchester realising £10,000. "Let us," said Cobden, "invest part of our property in order to save the rest from confiscation." Years after the Repeal, on a threatened return to the old system, a meeting was held in Manchester at which a sum of £37,000 was subscribed in half an hour.

The final success was celebrated by a general holiday and an immense procession, a month after the League had been dissolved. Manchester had given the first impulse to the movement, and had borne the brunt of the battle; it was a Lancashire man also who struck the last blow. On the pedestal of his statue, in the park at Salford that bears his name, are inscribed his own modest words: "It may be I shall leave a name, sometimes remembered with expressions of goodwill, in the abodes of those whose lot it is to earn their daily bread by the sweat of their brow, when they shall recruit their exhausted strength with abundant and untaxed food, the sweeter because it is not leavened with a sense of injustice."

THE EXPLOITING OF CHILD LABOUR.

Three great Reforms had been won, but there yet remained much land to be possessed. It was in 1843 that Mrs. Browning (in *Blackwood's Magazine*) voiced the Cry of the Children:

> "Weeping in the playtime of the others,
> In the country of the free."

But the most important of the Factory Acts had been passed ten years before this; indeed the various Statutes dealing with the conditions of life, and especially of young life, in the mills, run from 1802 to 1901, *i.e.*, over a whole century; a further instalment appearing in some clauses of the Education Act of 1918. It has been said that the germ of the Factory Acts lay

in the Resolutions of the Manchester Board of Health passed in 1796. Twenty years later Robert Owen, who—be it remembered—received his first inspiration in the direction of Social Reform in Manchester, through the influence of Dr. Percival, published in his "New View of Society" his far-reaching ideas on the "plastic quality" of child nature, and the possibility of moulding it by education and training so as to bring about drastic national reform. Fortunately he was able to point to his own experiments in the New Lanark mills in justification of his contention.

There is a striking passage in Southey's "Letters from England," dated 1808; he writes from "a spacious inn," the "Bridgwater Arms," portions of which may still be seen between Bread Street and Bridgwater Place, off High Street. "He took us," he says of his guide, "to one of the great cotton manufactories, showed us a number of children who were at work there, and dwelt with delight on the infinite good which resulted from employing them at so early an age. I listened without contradicting him, for who would lift up a voice against Diana at Ephesus? 'You see these children, Sir,' he said; 'they get their bread almost as soon as they can walk about, and by the time they are seven or eight years old bring in money. There is no idleness among us; they come at five in the morning; we allow them half an hour for breakfast and an hour for dinner; they leave work at six; and another set relieves them for the night. The wheels never stand still.'"

A spinner, in giving evidence before the Commission in 1833, said (speaking of the children working in the factory): "I find it difficult to keep my piecers awake the last hour of a winter's day. I have seen them fall asleep and go on performing their work with their hands, while they were asleep, after the 'Billy' had stopped, and when their work was over. I have stood and looked at them for two minutes going through the motion of 'piecing,' when they were fast asleep, when there was no work to do, and they were doing nothing."

After reading this, we need hardly wonder that the battle for the children was hotly contested. The operatives'

pamphlets of the period make frequent references to the subject, and—brushing aside compromises—demand as a minimum the ten-hour day. This (with the abolition of night work for women and children) was actually obtained by the Act of 1847, but the conditions of child labour that made such legislation necessary are to us to-day almost incredible, and indeed it was only by repeated amendments that anything like satisfactory conditions were obtained.

We have no space to go into the harrowing details of the system by which children were drafted from the workhouses to toil in the mills even as young as six years of age, but a few particulars as to the local factories should not be passed over. Speaking so late as 1847 Joseph Brotherton, the member for Salford, reminding the House of Commons that he had himself toiled in the mills as a boy, stated that in 1815 children were working in the factories day and night; that in Manchester the hours were on an average 78 and 79 a week, and that children had been employed for nineteen hours in a day. In these cases the children often dozed off and were sometimes seen working mechanically in their sleep.

One of the most notorious instances was that of the mills which then stood on Douglas Green, which is still an open space near Pendleton Old Hall. The Indentures by which girls from workhouses in London were bound to this firm from a very early age "till they attained twenty-one years or marriage" are still preserved. The masters covenanted to teach them "the art and mystery of a cotton manufacturer," and to find them in "meat, drink and apparel." As a matter of fact the children were herded together on the mill premises, and for many years the deformed, stunted men and women who had grown up under these unnatural and outrageous conditions were known in the Pendleton district as "Douglas-greeners," while the mills where their miserable lives were spent were stigmatised as the "White Slave Factory" and the "Cripple Factory."

The leaders of opinion in Manchester and Salford were divided on the question of the Factory Acts, and here we are brought face to face with the doctrines of the so-called "Manchester School." Mr. Bright's biographer makes a

gallant attempt to shield his hero from the attacks made upon him in this connection, but there is no doubt that at the time to which we are referring, men like Cobden and Bright were opposed to legislation which interfered between employers and employed. It was one thing, however, to apply the doctrine of Free Trade to goods, but Free Trade in labour between master and man—the application of the doctrine of *laissez-faire* in that connection—made for freedom, it is true, but it was freedom for power to compete with weakness. Many of those who opposed the Factory Acts at first, because they objected to such legislative interference, afterwards changed their opinion.

THE MANCHESTER SCHOOL.

We have said that this opens up the whole question of the "Manchester School," a cult which has been so widely discussed that the Germans considered it worth while to coin the word "Manchestertum" with which to designate it, while in this country the term "Cobdenism" has sometimes been applied to it, for Cobden had already foreshadowed some of its principles before he concentrated his energies on the Repeal of the Corn Laws. The signal success of the agitation for Repeal afforded the opportunity for crystallising views on domestic and foreign policy, which existed more or less vaguely in the minds of many who recognised the terrible loss due to the Napoleonic wars, the immense growth of English trade, and the consequent need for free access to foreign markets; who recognised, moreover, the new problems that were facing the country as the result of the expansion of our colonial possessions.

The three cardinal doctrines of the Manchester School were: free trade, non-intervention in the affairs of other nations, and at home as little interference as possible between employer and employed. Bright defined them as an attempt "to square the policy of the country with the maxims of commonsense and a plain morality." They are stated more specifically on the panels of the Cobden statue in Peel Park. It is partly accidental that the name Manchestertum should be applied to these tenets abroad, and that at home their devotees

should bear the name of the Manchester School. Indeed in 1857 Manchester repudiated such doctrines by placing Mr. Bright, one of their chief advocates, at the bottom of the poll at the general election; and in a famous letter to Cobden bearing that date Bright speaks of "the sudden break-up of the School of which we have been the chief Professors." "We have brought what is true into our School," he adds, "but the discipline was a little too severe for the scholars." If we take a single example from foreign affairs, in the matter of protesting against the Crimean War, a protest in which Bright and Cobden stood almost alone, their most virulent opponents have at long last acknowledeed that the policy of *laissez-faire* advocated at the time by these two statesmen was in that case, at any rate, the right one.

In the matter of domestic affairs the Factory Acts, as interfering with individual initiative, were, consistently with the doctrines of the School, opposed by Bright, who became member for Manchester in 1847. Mr. Brotherton, the member for Salford, on the other hand, gave them his energetic support. He had, as we have seen, himself worked in the factory as a child.

In the years that followed, the attention of the country was turned outwards by events in the Near and Far East. Manchester and Salford played no special part in the Crimean War, nor in the suppression of the Indian Mutiny; but immediately after these events there appears to have been a recrudescence in both towns of interest in the Volunteer movement.

THE COTTON FAMINE.

More serious for the Lancashire towns than the wars in the East was the struggle that broke out in the New World, the region on which England was now almost entirely dependent for her supplies of raw cotton. The cotton mills began to run short time in the October of 1861. In the following April a Relief Committee was inaugurated, to mitigate in some measure the acute distress that prevailed, and the unemployed operatives of Manchester held a great meeting in Stevenson Square. The illustrated papers of the

time picture the steps taken to deal with the prevailing distress: the distribution of coal and food, the inauguration of public works on the land or the roads, adult schools for men, sewing schools and institutions for girls. Money poured in locally, as well as from the Mansion House fund and the Colonies. Cobden urged that a million should be the aim, and £70,000 was subscribed at a single meeting. Eventually the sums distributed in relief rose to considerably over a million and a half, to which should be added more than £100,000 contributed in kind.

From nearly half a million of people receiving relief in 1862 (about 90,000 of whom were in Manchester and Salford) the number fell below 76,000 in 1865. About £1,000,000 was expended in the cotton districts in connection with the Public Works Act, passed in 1862. The prognostications of pessimists were falsified to a remarkable degree. Not only did the death-rate decrease in these districts during the period of distress, but there was a diminution in crime; and when the crisis was over pauperism fell to its original level. There is a graphic description in one of Waugh's "Lancashire Sketches" (Mrs. Burnett repeats it with an illustration in the autobiography of her childhood), picturing the first arrival of a load of raw cotton at one of the Lancashire towns after the Famine. The news ran like wildfire through the place; and when the tarpaulin was removed from the wagon, women fondled and kissed the bales, and the crowd sang the Doxology in the streets.

* * * * *

At the close of the War between North and South, when many adventurous Irishmen were cast adrift, a recrudescence of the Fenian movement took place. One tragic incident that occurred in Manchester in 1867 is worthy of mention, mainly for its results, though it has no connection with the subject of this chapter. As a prison-van containing Fenians was being driven along a Manchester street, a rescue was effected, the constable in charge being killed. The rescuers were captured and executed, but they were canonised by sympathisers as the "Manchester Martyrs." It is said that

this incident was the spark that fired the enthusiasm of Parnell, then just come of age, and led him to take up the cause of Ireland.

* * * * *

At the outset we spoke of Manchester and Salford as "the Home of great Causes." A number of these have been dealt with more or less fully in the present chapter. Others we shall have occasion to enumerate later.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Old Halls of Manchester and Salford.

In the last chapter we have travelled far from the picturesque details of the old manorial days, from the little country town of the middle ages, from the Manchester of Newcome, and Byrom, and Deacon. Yet there still remain, fortunately, traces and reminders of all of these, apart from the old timbered houses which are dotted here and there among the streets. Even to-day, in the very heart of the modern city, amid the ceaseless roar of its traffic, we may retire to the studious cloister's pale of the old priests' college; we may hear the pealing organ blow in the dim religious light of the ancient church; or in a moment we may step from one of Manchester's busiest thoroughfares into the quiet seclusion of the Rylands Library, a modern building it is true, yet under whose high embowèd roof, which shelters such untold treasures, we seem to pass at once into communion with all that is richest and best in the near as well as the most remote past. Or, starting from the Baronial Hall of the Grelleys, which we have already explored, we may visit one after another of the manor houses that still remain in Manchester and Salford, and burying ourselves in the details of their history, may once more pass from the tense life of the Manchester of to-day into the more leisured and less strenuous times of which we have spoken in the earlier chapters of this book. It is worth noting, in passing, how many times we find "Old Hall Lane" on the map of the parish of Manchester. Here, however, it is hardly possible to do more than merely give a list of the old family mansions that still remain, whose value as illustrations of the past is hardly appreciated as it should be.

"I rode over Mersey water," wrote the antiquary Leland in 1538, "by a great bridge of timber called Crosford bridge. So about a three miles to Manchester, in the which way first

Block lent by Messrs. Sherratt and Hughes.]

Ordsall Hall, Salford.

Photo by R. H. Fletcher.] The original residence of the Trafford family (still standing at Old Trafford).

I left Sir Alexander Radcliffe's Park-house on the right hand [this is Ordsall Hall; he may have *seen* it on the right at first, but of course he afterwards *passed* it on his left]. But ere I saw that I afterwards passed over Cornbrook, and after that I touched within a good mile of Manchester by Mr. Trafford's Park and Place [the *old* Trafford Hall]. After that I saw Mr. Prestwich's place on the left hand over Irwell [*i.e.*, the old Hulme Hall], whereby the Lord of Derby hath a Place and Park called Alport Park. [The very site is now lost.] Here about I passed over Medlock River, and so, within less than a mile, to Manchester."

This extract shows how prominently these manor houses stood out in the landscape of the sixteenth century. Nowadays they are not so conspicuous, and many people do not even know that a tram ride of a few minutes from Stevenson Square will take them to a famous mediæval residence, with its broad moat still complete and filled with water; that they may at any time turn aside from one of Salford's busiest thoroughfares and find themselves in a noble and impressive timbered hall of the fifteenth century; or that as they approach the Ship Canal Docks they may look down from the top of a tram on the ancestral home of the Traffords.

[*Block lent by the Royal Exchange Assurance Co.*

Radcliffe Hall.

(This moated Hall once stood in the locality still known as Pool Fold, off Cross Street.)

Aikin, in his well-known "Description," names about a score of these Halls. His list is not really complete, and of course some of those he mentions have disappeared. In fact no account of them now is exempt from the possibility that before it is published one or more of them may be swept away. The Alport Park referred to by Leland, which passed to Earl Derby on the dissolution of the College, was so completely destroyed in the Civil War that even its site is not now known. Yet Alport Park (off Deansgate), which once covered a hundred acres, was at one time a residence of the Derbys, and was famous for its oaks, its wild bees, its hawks, its herons, and even (according to the survey of 1322) for its eagles! The moated Hall of the Radcliffes, which stood in Pool Fold (there is still a "Back Pool Fold" off Cross Street), was pulled down in 1811, after serving for thirty years as two adjoining hostelries; the picturesque Hulme Hall, demolished in 1840, placed at the junction of the Medlock and the Irwell, also mentioned by Leland: Garratt Hall, standing at the angle made by Shooter's Brook and the Medlock (the name still survives in "Old Garratt" Inn in Brook Street): Strangeways Hall, whose site is now occupied by the Law Courts, its Park by the prison: and Crumpsall Hall, the birthplace of Humphrey Chetham:—all of these have disappeared. Garratt Hall, by the way, a fragment of which was standing as late as 1910, gave its name to Garratt Lane, a country walk which—passing between fields—wound down what is now Portland Street, and round the present Princess Street to Upper Brook Street, where it passed the Hall mentioned above. A curious story about an eighteenth century tenant of Garratt Hall may be read in "Household Words" for June 7, 1851. The Strangeways family, again, can be traced back to 1334, and their park once covered 640 acres. The estate passed eventually, by marriage, to Earl Ducie, whence the occurrence of that name in the local streets. We have already mentioned the transfer of the gates to Peel Park; they were presented to the Salford Corporation by Earl Ducie in 1858.

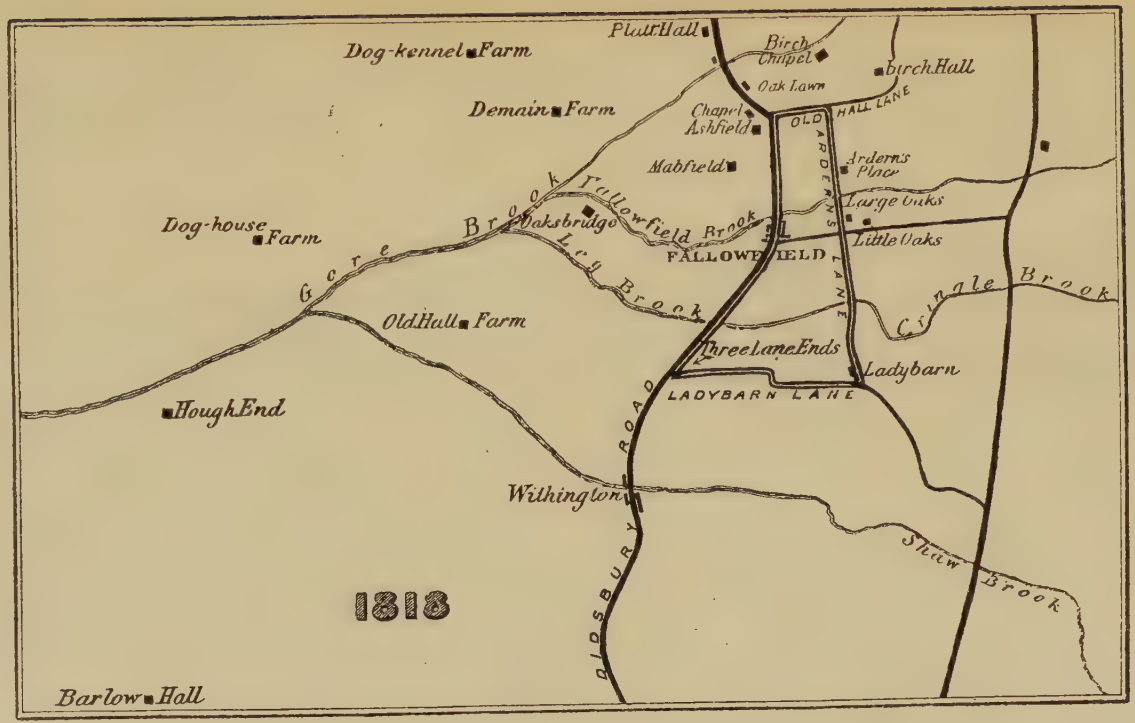
Yet—in spite of the fact that a number have disappeared—an interesting itinerary may be made even to-day, which will

include more than a dozen of these relics of the past, some of them beautifully timbered, some still containing treasures worthy of inspection. We may commence with the manor-house of the lords of Withington, which stood in Old Hall Lane, off Burton Road. It is now replaced by Chorlton's Farm, but the moat, pictured in Chapter VII, is still well preserved, and can be traced even where it is now dry. Immediately to the north, across Chorlton Brook, stands Demesne Farm. It is not easy to obtain precise information on the point, but the fact that this name occurs on a map of more than a century ago, and that we have a record of a land-tax for "demesne" in Withington paid in 1785,—if it does not actually prove that this was demesne of the ancient manor of Withington—at least recalls the old demesne of the manor, just as such names as Dog House Farm (near Alexandra Park Station), Dog Kennel Lane (off Wilbraham Road), and Deerleap Park (on an existing map of the district), recall the sporting side of its life. The hall itself was known as The Hough; the meaning of the name is obscure. It is interesting to notice that one of the very newest streets, cut out of the fields at right angles to Old Hall Lane, has been named Hough Street.

Less than a mile away, to the south-west, is the beautiful Elizabethan residence known as Hough End. As early as 1465 we find a certain Jenkyn Moseley, who was descended from a Staffordshire family, living here; but the present hall was built in 1596 by his great grandson Nicholas, the quondam Lord Mayor of London, who was knighted by Queen Elizabeth; indeed she is said to have given him some of the furniture for his new house at Hough End. This Sir Nicholas Mosley (he dropped the central "e" in his name when he took for his motto the words "Mos legem regit") purchased the manor of Manchester in 1596, and came to pass his declining years at Hough End Hall, which thus became for generations the manor-house of the lords of Manchester. It has been described as "our only unchanged example of the solid architecture of that date." Its handsome oak staircase was long ago removed to Tatton by Lord Egerton. In Hough End Clough, in 1745, one of the local farmers

concealed his horses, in order that they might not be commandeered by the Pretender; and it was in the "walled orchard" of this manor-house that the Scots Greys were reviewed before leaving for the campaign which terminated at Waterloo. Now, the place is almost encircled by railways; planes from a neighbouring aerodrome are continually buzzing over it, and during the war a search-light from its garden swept the skies nightly. A pretty wooded bit of Hough End Clough (pronounced "Hoos End" from time immemorial and so to-day) is still preserved close to Alexandra Park Station. We may remark in passing, that less than three-quarters of a mile north of Demesne Farm, mentioned above, was Pepperhill Farm, so minutely described by Mrs. Gaskell in the opening chapter of "Mary Barton." It was pulled down in 1900, and the site has long ago been absorbed in the streets of Moss Side. As we write (August 1919) Hough End Hall, the moat at Hough Hall, the wooded bit of Hough End Clough, Dog Kennel Lane, Doghouse Farm, Demesne Farm, and even the "Ghost's Walk" at the first of these, are all still safe and intact; but the tide of red-brick houses has swept dangerously near to the last, and may soon overflow them all.

Three-quarters of a mile south of Hough End stands Barlow Hall. The manor dates back to 1200, and we have already made some reference to the tragic story of Father Ambrose, one famous member of the family which occupied it for so many years, and finally died out in the eighteenth century, when the estate was bought by one of the Egertons. The present hall, of the early sixteenth century, is now a golf-house. In her beautiful study of the manor-houses of South Manchester, Mrs. W. C. Williamson (wife of Professor Williamson) thus contrasts Barlow and Hough End. "The Barlows failed to develop with the times; the æsthetic refinement which in earlier days helped so largely to develop their home element was in later times clogged by blind adherence to bygone forms of politics and religion." While, however, Barlow was "bright with the helpful joyousness of lovely daughters, and rich in collections of ripened luxury, Hough End [the Elizabethan Hall] was new, handsome, and



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Map of Fallowfield, etc., in the early nineteenth century.

The unnamed Hall on the right will be Slade Hall. The map gives a plan of the streams and Halls, and the names round the old manor-house of Withington are suggestive.

uncomfortable, the refuge of a retired merchant prince whose children were already dispersed, and became within very few years the scene of financial anxieties, unredeemed by any trace of family tenderness." From Barlow Hall it is an easy walk to Henshaw's Blind Asylum at Old Trafford, on the eastern or Manchester side of which is still preserved (though little known as such) the ancient manor-house of the Traffords, mentioned (as we have seen) by Leland. The manor of Trafford would appear to be at least as old as that of Barlow, but the family migrated to their later residence in Trafford Park (recently used as a golf-house and then as a military hospital) early in the eighteenth century. Now they, like the Barlows, have disappeared from the neighbourhood.

We may now return to the manor-house of Withington, from which we started, and passing along Old Hall Lane to Wilmslow Road, we may visit another interesting group of three halls quite near to one another. The Slade estate dates back to 1300, but the present Slade Hall in Slade Lane is a sixteenth century structure. Less than a mile to the west of it stands Birch Hall, already mentioned in connection with the history of Birch Chapel. Who can explain now how it is that, in an inventory dated 1678, the rooms of this hall included, among others, not only Mrs. Birch's chamber, old Mrs. Birch's chamber, the painted chamber, the yellow chamber and the red chamber, but also a room called "the old wench's chamber"? The room is still shown (1923).

If we return to Wilmslow Road from Birch Hall by the Old Hall Lane, which took its name therefrom, we shall be following the line of the famous Mickle or Nicko Ditch, mentioned in an earlier chapter, which (as we have said) is exceedingly well preserved just to the south of Platt Chapel. A few minutes' walk northwards will bring us to the stately red-brick mansion known as Platt Hall, built in 1764, near the site of the earlier timber and plaster structure, which has quite disappeared. There is no more delightful sight in Manchester than the broad sweeping acres known as Platt Fields, dotted with a gay holiday crowd; but we may linger here for a moment also in order to glance at the history of the earlier hall. An inventory shows that it contained the hall,

From the Collection of the late Fletcher Moss.] Slade Hall.

MARYLEBONE

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Booth Hall, Blackley.

the great parlour, the buttery, the milk-house, the woman's parlour, the little parlour, the brewhouse, the kitchen with Bessy parlour (what is a Bessy parlour?), the drink-house, the cheese-chamber, the cake-chamber, the board-loft, the general's chamber, the great chamber, the middle chamber, the high chamber, the little chamber and closet, the ark chamber, and the yarn chamber. May we go a step further and add the inventory of the furniture of the general's chamber, because this was the room occupied by Major General Charles Worsley, "Vice-gerent" of Lancashire, Cheshire and Staffordshire, member for Manchester in the Long Parliament, Cromwell's trusted henchman, the pride and glory of his fond father, the worthy Manchester clothier? It contained: one standing bed, with valance, curtains, and rods, one covering, and one blanket, one chaff-bed, one mat, one feather-bed and pillows, one court cupboard with its covering, one table, one chair, two back-stools, two other stools and a little one, one picture, and one coat of arms. The occupant of this room, at once statesman and soldier, "ranked higher in these capacities than Sir Nicholas Mosley as merchant or Father Ambrose as priest and martyr . . . . and had he lived, would probably have changed the whole tenour of English history by being made successor to Oliver Cromwell." Let us try to conjure up just one scene on the strength of this brief entry in the fond father's diary, made twelve days after the son's marriage: "1652, Oct. 18. My son, Lt. Coll. Charles Worsley with his wyfe, did sett forward from Platt to ride to London." What a send-off was there! The gallant general died of overwork in the service of the State, at the early age of thirty-five. As we watch the gay procession file out into the road, perhaps it may not seem altogether incongruous that the statue of Abraham Lincoln should stand in front of the ancestral home of this man.

The hall itself is described as "little more than a huge shelter, covering merchandise as well as people, and rigid with the bare angularity of Puritanic stubbornness." Birch Hall, on the other hand, served to illustrate the fact that "the sternest adherence to right is not incompatible with tender home influences, high intellectual culture, and artistic decora-

tion. Throughout their career the Birches bravely fought the battles of their day; their manor was the hotbed, not only of political, but also of theological strife, and the centre of Presbyterian teachings at a time when these tenets were unpopular, if not dangerous; and the intellectual life of the family was continuous and varied."

[*Block lent by the Royal Exchange Assurance Co.*

Ancoats Hall.

We may wander further afield southwards to Denton Hall, Hyde Hall, Hulme Hall at Reddish, and even to the Old Hall at Ashton-under-Lyne, all at one time within the Barony and the Parish of Manchester. Or we may turn northwards, and taking a tram from Stevenson Square, visit Clayton Hall, on the Ashton New Road, with its perfect moat and its memories of Humphrey Chetham, who died there. Close to the Hall, outside the moat, stood not long ago an enclosure called the Fold, containing the Wheat Barn, the Oat Barn, and the Great Barn. On our way we passed on the right a building which is now an Art Museum, but which was formerly

Ancoats Hall, beautifully situated above the Medlock, with lovely views over green wooded country; an eighteenth century structure replacing a much older building, which stood at the end of "the way that leadeth unto Ancoats," now Great Ancoats Street. The story that the young Pretender stayed here in disguise in 1744 seems to have no foundation. In the survey of 1322 the "lord of Ancoats" is mentioned as having a right to take peat from the "turbary" on Openshaw Moor.

From Clayton a short walk up North Road and Edge Lane will bring us to the Medlock, on crossing which we are close to Culcheth Hall, nearly the whole of which has been removed to make room for a Home of Rest. Farther north we are in Moston and Nuthurst, and here lie Lightbowne Hall and Moston Hall, Nuthurst Hall and Hough Hall, besides a number of timbered farmhouses and cottages at whose low windows was once heard the "clickety-clack" of the old hand-loom. Moston and Nuthurst were hamlets of Manchester in the early manorial days, and their tenants, in spite of the distance, were bound to carry their corn to Long Millgate to be ground at the lord's mill. Nuthurst gave a Warden to Manchester in the person of William Chadderton, who became Bishop of Chester in 1579, and was afterwards appointed Bishop of Lincoln.

From Moston we pass to Blackley, where stood the residence of Humphrey Booth, the munificent benefactor of Salford, whose bequests now produce nearly £20,000 a year. Booth Hall, which was built by him in 1640, has now disappeared, save part of the farm buildings, and its place is taken by the Blackley Hospital. As we look across the greensward at the beautiful open-air wards occupied by the children of the Manchester poor, we may well feel that the large-hearted occupant of the Old Hall would wish no better use to be made of his property; nor—looking further back still—does it seem incongruous that the Deer Park of the ancient lords of Manchester should be appropriated for this purpose. Nor must we forget, as we pass through Blackley, its associations with John Bradford, the Manchester martyr of the sixteenth century, and with Samuel Bamford, the Radical

Reformer of the nineteenth. Not far away, again, is White Moss, where the Reformers held their last drill on the day preceding Peterloo.

North-west of Blackley the broad expanse of Heaton Park is now a playground and breathing-space for Manchester people, and this became during the Great War the first camping-ground of the famous City Battalions. It is impossible to stand on the spacious lawn in front of Heaton Hall, with its wide view westwards, without recalling the tragic circumstances of the 15th of September, 1830, as related by Fanny Kemble in her Reminiscences, quoted in Chap. XXV. We can picture the gay party (the Duke of Wellington was the guest of Earl Wilton at the time) setting out from Heaton Park in the morning, and the gloom that fell on the Hall a few hours later, when it was known that Mr. Huskisson lay dying of terrible injuries at the vicarage at Eccles.

The history of the estate can be traced back for some six centuries, but perhaps the best known of its owners was the second Earl of Wilton, just mentioned, whose interest in sport led him to organise the Heaton Park Race Meetings. The park covers 650 acres. "Heaton is looking lovely in all the beauty of its autumn foliage," wrote Fanny Kemble, as she "took up her pen in a drawing room filled with people"; and in her Reminiscences we have an interesting picture of the home life at the Hall, and a charming description of the ceremony of rush-bearing, when the rush-cart was drawn by "a team of the Earl of Wilton's finest farm horses, covered with scarlet cloths and decked with ribbons, bells, and flowers."

The site of one interesting moated grange has recently passed from Manchester to Stockport by the alteration of the boundaries. On the Heaton Moor golf links a very striking example is still preserved of a moat surrounding a plateau over thirty yards square, on which no doubt a residence or farmhouse once stood. We may compare with it, as illustrations, Clayton Hall, Peel Hall near Heald Green, and the moat in Old Hall Lane, Withington.

Starting from Old Trafford, and travelling anti-clockwise, we have now completed three-quarters of a circle round

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Heaton Hall.

Formerly the residence of the Earl of Wilton.

Manchester. There remain several Old Halls in Salford, which in personal and historical interest are second to none of those named hitherto. The beautiful Agecroft Hall is just outside the Manchester boundary; the adjoining sheet of water is worthy of mention for the wonderful variety of wild birds that visit it every year; we have spoken of these in an earlier chapter; Worsley and Wardley Halls are also in the parish of Eccles. But as we descend from Kersal Moor and turn down Littleton Road, we have on our left the timbered façade of Kersal Hall, and a few yards lower down, on the right, still in its green setting, is the historic site known as Kersal Cell. Here, as we have already had occasion to say, arose one of the earliest religious houses founded in Lancashire; here the boy Byrom roamed along the banks of the Irwell, in his college vacations, bawling out Cicero's orations till the neighbours thought him mad; it was to this spot that his thoughts often fondly turned during his many wanderings; and here he passed his declining days.

From Kersal Cell a straight road leads to the present Manchester Racecourse, where once stood the house known by the suggestive name Castle Irwell. The Manchester Races moved here from Kersal Moor in 1847. Twenty years later they were transferred to New Barns. The advent of the Ship Canal swept them back to Castle Irwell. The residence of that name was built here in 1826 by an ancestor of Edward Fitzgerald, translator of the Rubaiyat, and was occupied by Fitzgerald's father and brother, though we have no evidence that he himself lived there. The house was demolished in 1890. Two years later, the races were again held on this site, which now comprises 123 acres.

We began with a quotation from Leland. We conclude with a reference to what he called "Sir Alexander Radcliffe's Park-house," known to us as Ordsall Hall. The Alexander mentioned by Leland was knighted at Lille in 1513 (the date of Flodden Field), and was four times High Sheriff of Lancashire. We have seen in earlier chapters that the chaplain at Ordsall Hall was for centuries the only chaplain that Salford possessed, and that Lord Strange accepted the hospitality of Ordsall shortly before he entered upon the siege of Man-

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Bird's-eye view of Ordsall Hall.
(The moat is now covered with streets.)

chester. Ordsall, which appears in the Pipe Rolls as early as 1177, changed hands many times after it passed out of the keeping of the Radcliffes, and the Hall is now the property of Earl Egerton. The lines of the moat are to-day represented by streets; the Great Barn, with nave and aisles divided by massive oak posts (there was an absurd tradition that it had been the early Manchester Church); the orchards and gardens—have disappeared. Yet the great Hall remains, with arched bay, panelled gable, dais, buttery, and pantry; the ornate Star Chamber and other living rooms. With this, perhaps the most typical and interesting of all, we conclude our tour of the Old Halls of Manchester and Salford.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Years of Progress.

VICTORIAN MANCHESTER.

THE EXHIBITION OF ART TREASURES IN 1857.

Following the history of a great community is like tracing the course of a great river from its source to the sea. It is pre-eminently so with the story of Manchester and Salford. Both sprang from small beginnings; their earlier traces are obscured; at first, sometimes one, sometimes the other, takes the lead; but by the middle of the nineteenth century their united stream has so broadened that it is impossible to give a connected narrative of events. The twenty odd townships to-day have an average population of nearly fifty thousand; each is a town, with a history reaching back, in some cases, for many centuries; each requires a volume to itself; moreover, the interests of the community as a whole have become so varied, and the place has now so many points of contact with the world at large, that little more than a mere enumeration of events would be possible here. Under these circumstances, it seems better to deal with the last half or three-quarters of a century by summarising the advances made in certain directions in which progress during this period has been so marked.

The middle of the nineteenth century happens to be a specially convenient time for a survey of the development of the towns, because in 1857 Manchester emulated the example of the Metropolis by holding an exhibition—in this case of Art Treasures—which remained open for a hundred and forty-one days, and was patronised by over a million and a quarter visitors. The guides and handbooks alone form a small library, and from these and the plans they contain, we may gain a more or less complete picture of the Manchester of the time. The Exhibition is interesting, further, as showing the position the place was taking among the towns of the

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The Exhibition of Art Treasures held at Old Trafford in 1857.

country; and as the beginning of a series of similar efforts, which have drawn pilgrims from far beyond our shores. Even on this occasion visitors came from all parts of the world to see the Art Treasures, culled from private sources, a collection which has perhaps never been surpassed, and which helped to make Manchester the centre of distribution for English art that it is to-day. John Ruskin lectured at this Exhibition on "The Political Economy of Art"; two years later he was lecturing here again on "The Unity of Art," and these lectures crystallised into "The Two Paths."

If we select one of the local guide-books issued for visitors to the Exhibition, we find from its map that Salford fills its bend of the Irwell, reaching as far west as the Crescent, but not crossing the river on the north. Manchester stretches out to Cheetham and Newton; to Ardwick, Chorlton-on-Medlock, and Hulme; and to the borders of Stretford at Cornbrook; Chorlton-on-Medlock runs out for some distance beyond All Saints' Church.

Neat pictures are given of the Royal Infirmary, the Cathedral (Manchester had already been the See of a bishop for ten years), the Free Trade Hall, the Exchange, the Mechanics' Institute, the Town Hall in King Street, the Royal Institution (now the Mosley Street Art Gallery), the Museum in Peter Street, and the Athenæum. Descriptions follow of about sixty Institutions or Buildings, including Parks, Theatres, Hospitals, and Charitable and Educational Foundations. The residential suburbs named are Alderley, Altrincham, Dunham Massey, Knutsford, and Rostherne.

The crowds that streamed into the Exhibition from the hives of industry that had sprung up all over Southern Lancashire saw a city that had already become a distinctive entity. "What would I not give to see Athens!" says Coningsby in Disraeli's novel. "I have seen it," replies his companion; "the Age of Ruins is past. Have you seen Manchester? Manchester is as great a human exploit as Athens." Will there ever again be quite such a Manchester? The place was prospering commercially. The "Manchester merchant," whose development we watched before the Industrial Revolution, still spun, wove and distributed; but

the last of the three was to become his main function; and even the great masters of industry who sent him their goods were eventually to find it necessary, as we shall see, to confine themselves to one branch of the trade.

The merchant was gradually leaving the city and gravitating towards the new suburbs, where the solidly-built residences with winding drives that still remain (although now in many cases turned to other uses) yet speak of his magnificence. People who knew the Manchester of that time still tell how the head of a firm might be seen each day on horseback riding to the city from his suburban residence; a picture hardly in consonance with the crowded motor traffic of to-day. To the great classical buildings that housed her institutions, Manchester was making important additions. The narrow, warehouse-flanked passages in the neighbourhood of Cannon Street and Marsden Square were being eclipsed by the more pretentious buildings of York Street and Portland Street; and the architecture of the city was making an even prouder show in the King Street banks. Amid these newer creations there still lingered—and they linger to-day—some reminders of the past, in Long Millgate, Hanover Street, Greengate, Withy Grove, Deansgate, St. John Street, and the Market Place. Above the ceaseless whirl of commercial life, moreover, there was always the consciousness now that Manchester was a force in the country; she had given a lead, and would do so again; there was actually a "School" bearing her name. She had, moreover, become a patron of the fine arts.

It is the development of this great community, throbbing with new life, that we have now briefly to review; and it will be convenient, as we have said, to consider it under several aspects in order.

MEASURES FOR THE CARE OF THE PUBLIC HEALTH.

When the Manchester Corporation began its work in 1838 the town embraced only 4,293 acres. Manchester and Salford now cover an area of 42 square miles, the city boundary measuring 41 miles round. There were then no municipal parks, baths, libraries, art galleries, or schools; no waterworks

at Longdendale or Thirlmere; there was no electric light and there were no tramways.

A well-known guide, published in 1836, points out that Manchester then had "no resorts for old or young to snatch an hour's enjoyment." The provision of open spaces to serve as lungs to the city began in the year 1845, when a committee formed for the purpose purchased the Larkhill estate, Salford, known to us as Peel Park, the Hendham Hall estate, Harpurhey, now Queen's Park, and Lady Houghton's estate at Bradford, which has become Philip's Park. Since that date one open space after another has been added, till at the present moment Manchester and Salford have some seventy Parks and Recreation grounds, which are kept up at an annual outlay of nearly £100,000. There are 24 public bathing establishments, and the washhouses are used by 150,000 women annually.

The extensive recreation grounds associated with the Zoological Collection at the Belle Vue Gardens, though in no sense under municipal control, deserve mention here as acting as a most successful lung to "Greater Manchester." The collection of animals had for some time a rival at Lower Broughton (the "Zoo" there figures on the Ordnance Map of 1848).

HOUSING AND SANITATION.

Perhaps the heaviest indictment ever laid against Manchester in the matter of its housing and sanitation is contained in a striking pamphlet entitled "The moral and physical condition of the working classes employed in the cotton manufacture in Manchester," written by a competent medical authority, Dr. James Kay (afterwards Sir James Kay Shuttleworth), and published in 1832. The details given in this and similar tracts, prepared by medical men, can scarcely be credited now. The housing and sanitary conditions in such quarters as "Little Ireland" (near what is now Granby Row), Long Millgate, Angel Meadow, and Deansgate as it was then, were appalling, and the details on these matters published by the Statistical Society (which began its work in 1833) more than bear out the squalid picture drawn by Mrs. Gaskell in the sixth chapter of "Mary Barton." Yet, incredible, harrow-

ing, revolting, impossible as they may appear to us to-day, we must not shut our eyes to these facts (they were attested by officials of the Board of Health appointed to investigate the matter) if we would form a correct estimate of the Industrial Revolution in all its aspects. One of these aspects was that of a Juggernaut, bearing down and relentlessly crushing beneath its wheels the young, the old, and the middle-aged—all whose misfortune it was to be born into that lowest stratum from which the cotton operatives were drawn; and as we read the details to-day we can only turn with pain from this picture of the wastage of humanity, the dreary unlovely lives of the half-fed workers, huddled together in noisome dens, under conditions that precluded the possibility of either physical or moral development. A few details will show that the words we have just used err, if they err at all, on the side of moderation.

The poorer cotton operative of that time rose at five, and worked in the mill from six to eight, when he had half an hour's respite for a breakfast of tea and bread. At twelve an hour was allowed for a meal of boiled potatoes, possibly with lard or butter. (The Report of the Peterloo Relief Committee states that "in most families where there were childrn the taste of meat was unknown from one year to another.") He then worked on till seven or later, in a heated atmosphere, loaded with dust and cotton filaments, at an occupation which exhausted his physical energies, for his persevering labour had to rival the mathematical precision, the incessant motion, and the exhaustless power of the new machines. He returns eventually to his home, to find his wife and children exhausted by the same work; a home where domestic economy and comforts are alike impossible. Let us visit some of these homes.

Most of the congested districts had no common sewer; consequently the streets, which were narrow, unpaved, and worn into deep ruts, became the common receptacle for mud, refuse, disgusting ordure, and stagnant pools. The houses were often "back-to-back" structures; they were uncleanly, ill-ventilated, damp, and scantily provided with furniture; and an air of discomfort, if not of squalid and loathsome wretched-

ness, pervaded them. In the Irish quarter "a whole family is often accommodated in a single bed, and sometimes a heap of filthy straw and a covering of old sacking hide them in one undistinguished heap, debased alike by penury, want of economy, and dissolute habits"; "often more than one family lived in a damp cellar, containing only one room, in whose pestilential atmosphere from twelve to sixteen persons were crowded. To these fertile sources of disease were sometimes added the keeping of pigs and other animals in the house, with other nuisances of the most revolting character. In the common lodging houses the same bed received a succession of tenants until too offensive even for their unfastidious senses."

Take, again, these two facts with regard to sanitary conveniences, certified by a special committee of the Board of Health: in the district known as "Little Ireland" the average number was two to two hundred and fifty people, and even these are described as "inaccessible from filth." In Parliament Street (save the mark!) there was only one convenience for three hundred and eighty people, and this one was "placed in a narrow passage whence its effluvia infested the adjacent houses." In the same street "cesspools with open grids had been made close to the doors."

Take, again, the picture of the working woman's life drawn in an Address issued before Peterloo by the "Manchester Female Reformers" to the "Wives, mothers, sisters, and daughters of the higher and middle classes in society." The mother is represented as waking in the morning with the dread that one of the children may have died of starvation during the night; as toiling all Sunday to repair the tattered garments of her husband and children; as "sick of life, and weary of a world where poverty, wretchedness, tyranny, and injustice, have so long been permitted to reign among men."

No wonder that the Report goes on to say that "the standard of morality was debased, religious observances were neglected, the bonds of domestic sympathy were relaxed, filial and paternal duties were uncultivated." No wonder that the Boroughreeve (the Mayor under the manorial system) who made a personal investigation of the number of people entering

a ginshop in a given time, was able to report that in forty minutes he watched 112 men and 163 women go in, which works out at over four hundred per hour.

The squalid picture drawn by these writers is fully confirmed (if confirmation were necessary) by the graphic description given by the German Socialist Frederick Engels in his "Condition of the Working Classes in England in 1844." Knowing Manchester well, as he did, he was able, in his chapter on the great towns, to give a specially vivid, though apparently not exaggerated, picture of the conditions of life there in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Even the guides to the Exhibition of 1857 which might have been pardoned for taking a rosy view of things, speak of "heaps of mean, two-storied houses, extending in ramifications of monotonous and uninteresting streets;" and of "thousands of by-lanes and squalid courts; stacked-up piles of undrained and unventilated dwellings, cellar-dwellings, and pestilential lodging-houses, swarming with the coarsest and most dangerous portions of the population." We to-day may almost smile when we read that "of all the toiling portions of the city, the district of Hulme—the last built—is the most gratifying."

The work of the four Committees at present engaged in coping with these matters—those, namely, for cleansing, drainage, sewage-disposal, and housing—has now reached great dimensions. Hundreds of miles of streets are swept, and a thousand tons of refuse are collected, daily. The question of the disposal of sewage and refuse has been dealt with in a comprehensive manner, and the result is evident in the transformation of great waste areas on the outskirts of the city into productive farms. The main drainage scheme approved in 1911, with a view to meeting the requirements of fifty years, deals with an area of over sixty square miles. In the matter of housing, while much has been accomplished in the direction of abolishing cellar-dwellings, back-to-back and other insanitary houses, and in supplying the neat detached dwellings, groups of which are springing up all round the city, the public provision of new residences is hampered by the great cost.

All these measures lead up to the general question of the public health, and here we should not forget that the man who was first mainly influential in securing legislation for public health, was Edwin Chadwick, a native of Longsight. In this connection we have to mention the steps taken for the direct prevention of disease and infant mortality by means of child-welfare centres, health visitors, sanitary inspectors, hospitals, and attempts to purify the atmosphere—steps which have been so far successful that between 1895 and 1915 the death-rate for the whole of Manchester fell from 23 per thousand to 17, an improvement being manifest even in the most congested districts.

A quarter of a century ago, on a five years' average, the infant death-rate for Manchester was 192 per 1,000 born. The average for the five years ending in 1922 was 99 per 1,000. In 1922 it was 96 per 1,000.

The municipality provides hospitals for infectious diseases and tuberculosis, but most other cases are treated at one or other of the numerous medical charities for which Manchester is so famous. There are already nearly forty of these in Manchester and Salford, a Babies' hospital being one of the most recent additions; and it is probable that the establishment of nursery schools under the Education Act of 1918 will reduce the number of cripples and still further lower the death-rate among young children. Foremost among the medical charities stands the Manchester Royal Infirmary, which had its origin in Shudehill in 1752, the first building on what is now called the Old Infirmary site being opened two years later. Other institutions were added from time to time, and the new Infirmary in Oxford Road, with about 50 blocks of buildings, and accommodation for some 800 patients, is one of the best equipped of modern hospitals. The corresponding institution in Salford was founded in 1827.

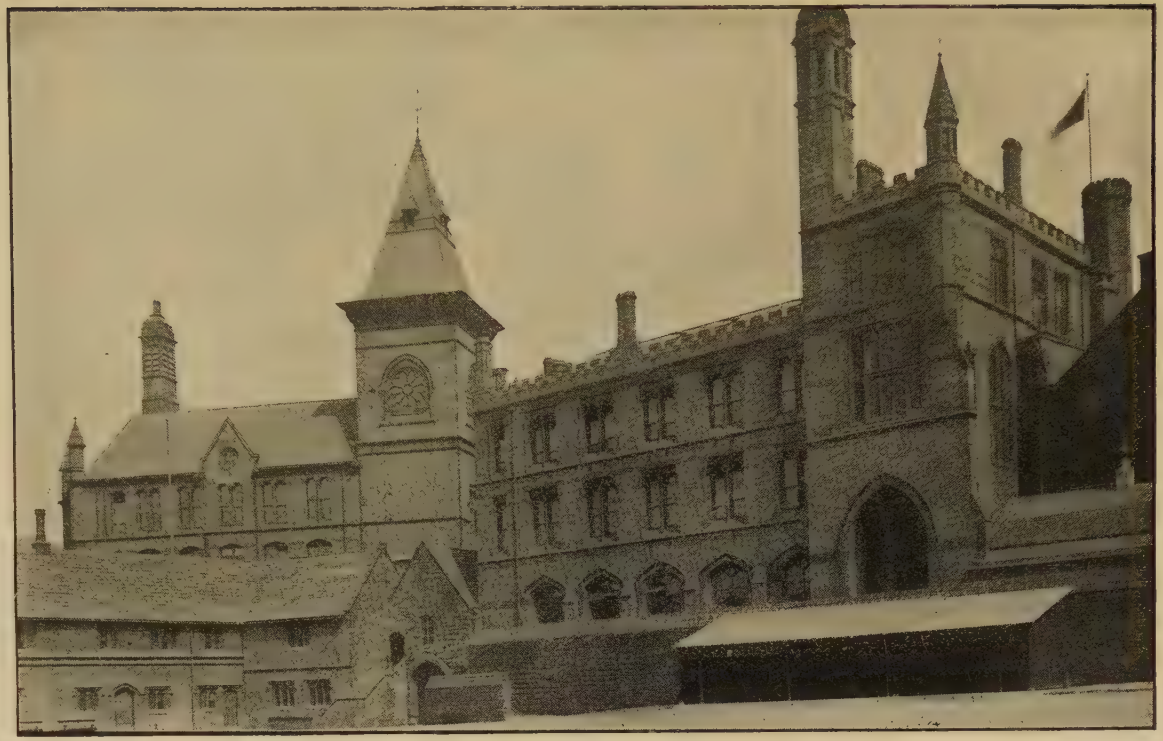
ATMOSPHERIC POLLUTION.

Reference has already been made to Dr. Dalton's detection of salt carried to the air of Manchester from the sea. In the chemical examination of the atmosphere itself considerable advances have been made since the time of Dalton, when even

eminent chemists held that chemical analysis could not distinguish the air of Manchester from that of Helvellyn. The chemical experiments of Dr. Angus Smith, though made more than half a century ago, should be mentioned in this connection. He found, for example, that the amount of carbonic acid in the air of Manchester streets—which compared favourably with that of London or Glasgow in ordinary weather—was immensely increased during a fog. Moreover, there was, in normal weather, a considerable fall in proceeding from the city to a suburb. He tested the amount of organic matter in the air of Manchester by collecting, behind his laboratory, about the quantity of air that would be inhaled by an active man in the course of ten hours. This was proved on examination to contain $37\frac{1}{2}$ million organisms, many of which were recognisable. Among them were numerous cotton and woollen fibres, both white and coloured, but the greater part consisted of fungoid matter and spores.

Experimenting so far back as 1864, Dr. Smith calculated that thirty tons of soot and thirty tons of tar passed into the Manchester atmosphere in a day. In recent years this question of the presence in the atmosphere of the products of combustion has been closely examined, especially since the curve of the death-rate has been found to follow closely the curve of heavy fogs. The statistics of the investigations that have been made are much too elaborate to be even summarised here, but the effects of a polluted atmosphere on the death-rate (especially that due to pulmonary diseases), on the sunshine record, and on the fabric of buildings, together with the dislocation of traffic due to heavy fogs—and all these effects are as pronounced in Manchester as in almost any town in the kingdom—are at least deserving of mention.

One tangible proof of the vitiated state of the atmosphere during a fog may be added. At the College of Technology, a plant has been installed for intercepting the soot and other impurities as the air passes into the building. By this method, on a single day of heavy fog, no less than a hundredweight of black sludge was filtered out in fourteen hours, and even so, a great deal of dirt is not prevented from entering the building.



From the Collection of the late Fletcher Moss.]

Back view of the Manchester Grammar School.
(Before the 1910 extension.)

Block lent by the Governors of the High School.]

In the first Report of the Sanitary Committee of the City of Manchester on Air-pollution, issued in 1915, it is stated that the total of solids collected from the atmosphere in Whitworth Street in the month of July is equivalent to 62.2 British tons per square mile. If, therefore, we draw a circle of a mile radius, with the Town Hall as centre, about 195 tons of impurities may be assumed to be passed into the air during the month from this area. Of this, about a hundred tons would consist of soot or other insoluble matter. Finally, as a single example of comparison between localities, the soot collected at Ancoats weighed eight times as much as the soot collected at Bowdon during the same period. The estimate of £1,000,000 as the *material* damage annually due to smoke in Manchester has been freely quoted and never seriously challenged; 75 per cent. of this being due to domestic smoke. With the admirable preventive measures suggested for removing this great evil it is hardly our province to deal here.

THE PROGRESS OF EDUCATION IN MANCHESTER AND SALFORD.

FOUNDATIONS.

We have dealt with the question of Public Health; the question of Education seems to follow naturally. In a previous chapter reference is made to the pioneers in Education who gave us the Grammar School and Chetham's Hospital and Library. (Nicholl's Hospital, in Hyde Road, the gift of a benevolent Alderman and Mayor of Manchester, was not founded till the second half of the nineteenth century.) It seems fitting to link with these two ancient foundations two other famous institutions which had their origin in similar motives.

It is a significant fact, and by some of us to-day it is not easily understood, that these two great benefactors deliberately and intentionally overlooked the needs of the opposite sex. It is expressly stated in Hugh Oldham's statutes that his school is for every scholar or infant "being a man-child"; while Humphrey Chetham's will as expressly limits the recipients of his bounty to "boys or male children." This glaring anomaly was corrected in the elementary schools of various types which sprang up from the end of the seventeenth

century onwards; but some three and a half centuries had to pass away after the foundation of the Manchester Grammar School, before a movement was set on foot in this country to provide higher education for girls and women.

The Manchester High School for Girls, founded in 1874, "to provide for Manchester's daughters" (as its first Report stated) "what had been provided without stint for Manchester's sons," has, in spite of centuries of delay, a claim to be linked with the other famous educational foundations of the city, because it too was the outcome of the recognition, by far-sighted philanthropists—in this case the "Manchester Association for the promotion of the Education of Women"—of a great need, which they did their best to meet with no help from public sources. The School was first opened in two houses in Portland Place, Oxford Road (Nos. 369 and 371); the foundation of the present building was laid in 1880, but it has for some time been inadequate for the number of girls in the School.

One other pioneer in education—albeit his bequest also was to be reserved for "young persons of the male sex"—should be at least named here. Of the growth of his foundation we shall speak later on. The princely gift of £100,000 by John Owens in 1851 (partly at the instigation, it must never be forgotten, of his friend George Faulkner), made possible the foundation of the College which bears his name, which was first located in Cobden's old house in Quay Street, and has developed into the University of Manchester. By its very first charter, in 1880, this University, a pioneer in the great movement for equality of opportunity, almost simultaneously with the University of London, threw open all its privileges "to all persons, male and female," who should fulfil the required conditions. Owens' gift fitly crowns the list of benefactions which Manchester owes to her educational pioneers.

MUNICIPAL EDUCATION.

We have next to enumerate the steps by which the present system of municipal education has been built up. It has been said that the public provision for the education of the people in England has come into existence through a long course

Block lent by Messrs. Sherratt and Hughes.]

The College of Technology.

Photo by F. Ireland.] [*Block lent by Messrs. Sherratt and Hughes.*

The Whitworth Hall, Manchester University.
The famous " Staircase Tower " is seen to the right.

of experiments, compromises, traditions, successes, failures, and religious controversies. Of no place is this more true than of Manchester. The Report of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education, issued in 1894, pointed out that "in Manchester the various progressive movements in education had made the earliest start"; and that "the very fact that Manchester had profited by every opportunity to advance, had produced the consequence that the interferences of the different waves of educational development with one another had made themselves specially felt."

We can do little more than enumerate these waves. For several centuries they have to do mainly with elementary education; the middle of the nineteenth century came and went, indeed the twentieth was almost upon us, before higher education had its share of attention.

In the age of the Grammar Schools Manchester led the way with only one competitor; when the period of the Charity or Bluecoat Schools began, Manchester had already had its Bluecoat School for half a century. The Lancasterian Schools were represented here, and Manchester was one of the first of the manufacturing centres to establish (in 1824) a Mechanics' Institute. This was the nucleus from which sprang the present College of Technology. The broadsides and pamphlets of the first half of the nineteenth century give a vivid picture of the controversy that raged round the various Factory Acts. We have already stated that the germ of the Factory Acts lay in the resolutions of the Manchester Board of Health which were the outcome of the Report of Dr. Percival in 1796. Closely associated with Dr. Percival in the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society was Robert Owen, whose great social and educational ideals must have been largely suggested and fostered by what he saw in Manchester, though they were thrown into practical shape elsewhere. It was fitting that Manchester, which was the centre of a district notorious for the evils of the factory system, should give some lead in the matter. By these Acts the Government of the day prescribed a minimum of instruction for children who were employed, and so adopted the principle of compulsory education. The most important of them (the

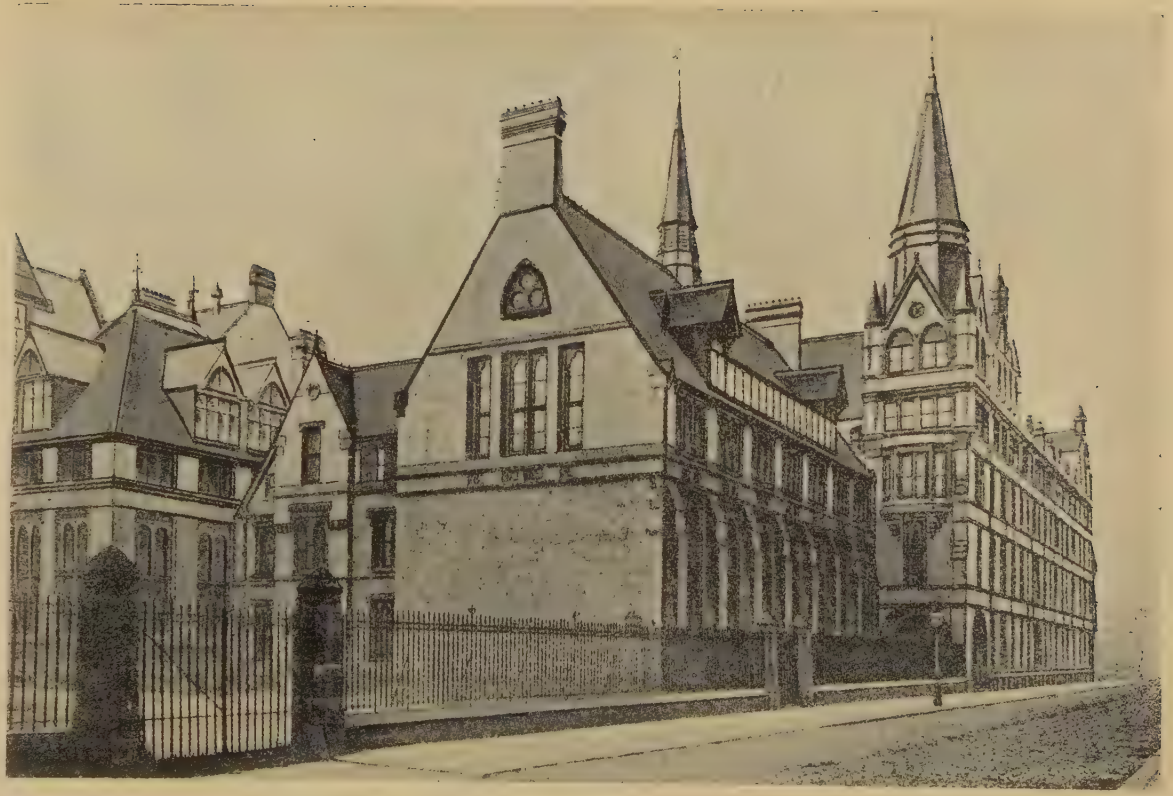
Act of 1832) coincides in date with the popular demand for State aid for education, and in the very next year the first Parliamentary grant was made.

The returns then furnished to the House of Commons give us some insight into the state of education in Manchester and Salford at that time. Sunday schools, established here as early as 1784, had grown to such an extent that there were now some 43,000 children in attendance in Manchester and Salford, out of a population of 240,000. A great part of the teaching in these was secular, and many children received no other instruction. The attendance at day-schools works out at about ten per cent. of the population, and these schools, in the contemporary Report of the Statistical Society, are divided into "Dame Schools," "Common Boys' and Girls' Schools," "Adventure Schools," "Superior Private Schools," Infant Schools, Evening Schools, and schools supported by endowments or religious bodies. The conditions, staffing, and equipment of many of these schools (the details may be read) can only be described as shocking.

By the year 1846 the Government were committed to State Aid in the matter, and the Act of 1870, by its conscience clause, split up the educationists of Manchester into two camps, whose differences were hardly smoothed by the Act of 1902. In the interval between these Acts the Manchester School Board made itself famous by taking the lead in the establishment of Higher Grade and Evening Schools, and more recently the corresponding authority has opened a number of Municipal Secondary Schools, and erected a College of Technology which is hardly rivalled in Europe. The Educational Authority has made special provision for defective children, and the city has given a lead in providing for the feeble-minded.

Similarly Salford has established its own Technical School, its Municipal Secondary Schools, Evening Schools, and Council Schools for elementary education. In Manchester the number of non-provided schools exceeds, and in Salford it is double, the number of those provided by the Education Authority.

Meanwhile the institutions for higher education mentioned



Block lent by Messrs. Sherratt and Hughes.]

The Medical School : Manchester University.

at the beginning of this section have progressed by leaps and bounds. The Free Grammar School of Hugh Oldham, though no longer free, has developed into a great public day school, numbering (with its preparatory schools) some 1,800 boys, and occupies, according to the Report of a Royal Commission, "a foremost place and in some respects the foremost place among the Secondary Day Schools of England." As we write the scheme for its removal to more congenial surroundings is under consideration. The sister institution, the High School for Girls, already approaching a membership of 700, and specialising in several directions, has more than fulfilled the hopes of its patriotic founders; and both institutions have acted as feeders to the University which has developed from John Owens' foundation.

Owens and his friend Faulkner grew up at a time when efforts were being made to recast, on an undenominational basis, the Nonconformist Academies which had done much to promote the love of learning in Lancashire, and to enlarge their boundaries. The scheme for a Manchester "Academy" failed; the foundation which is associated with the name of Owens has been more successful. As in the case of the Grammar School the foresight of the founder gave to successive generations of Governors freedom to develop the institution along liberal lines, so the broad views of the founders of Owens College made easy the transition to an institution of University rank. "Neither in the conception of the founders of Owens College, nor in the system carved out from the first by its administrators, was there any thought of confining the instruction given there to professional teaching, or of allowing its balance to lean unduly either to the faculty of arts or to that of science. Owens College, and the University of which it was the nursing mother, have always been true to the full significance of the University idea."

The movement in favour of a Northern University resulted, as we have seen, in 1880, in the formation of the Victoria University in Manchester which absorbed the Medical School already existing. In a few years Liverpool and Leeds had linked their colleges, and a Federal University was the result. This lasted for thirteen years, when new charters were granted

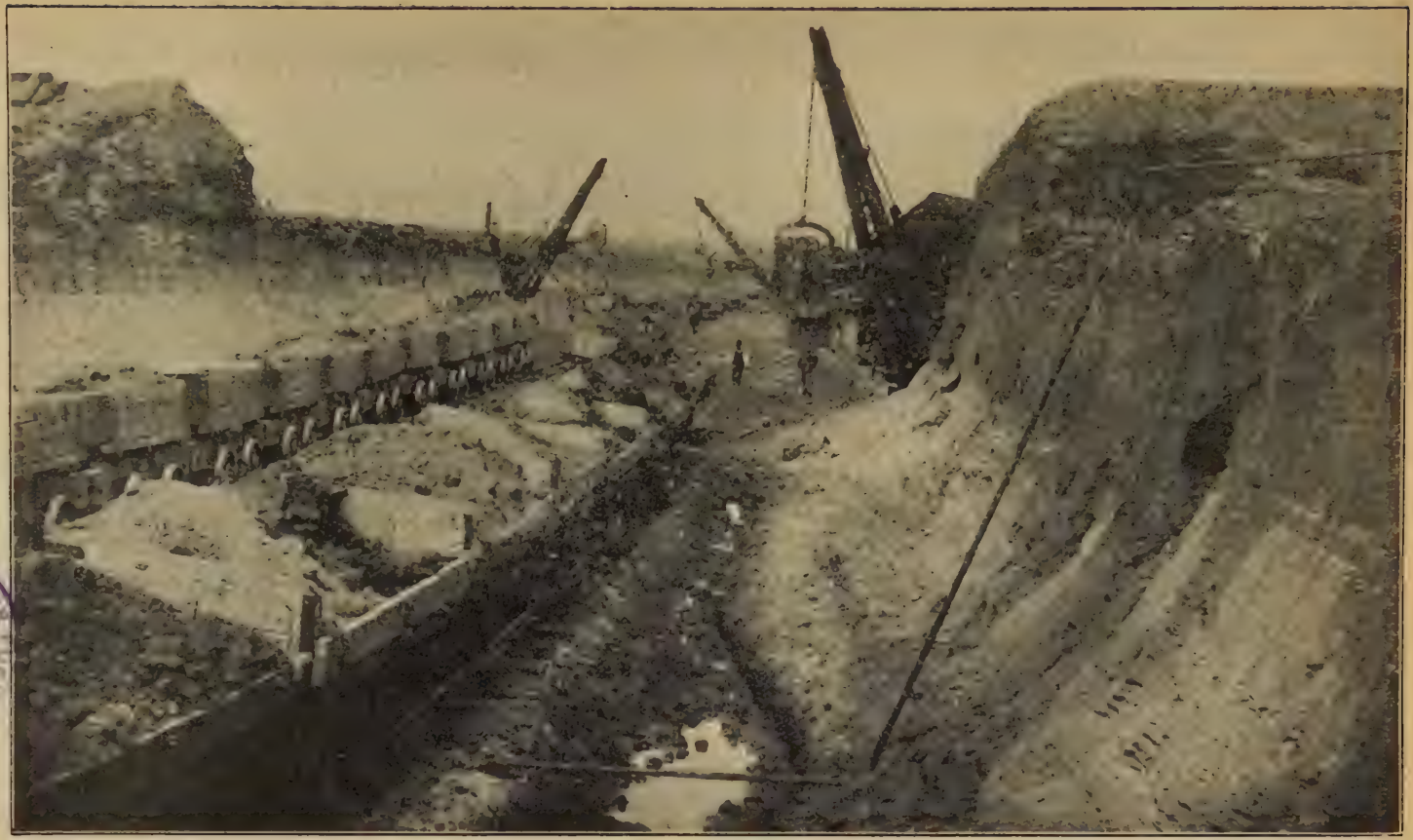
setting up three separate universities. Since then the development of the University of Manchester has been striking. Already it is far more powerful than was its federated predecessor. The income, and the number of students, have approximately doubled, and the buildings have kept pace with both. To the faculties of Arts, Science, Medicine, Theology, Commerce, Education, Law, and Music, has been added a Faculty of Technology, which has linked the College of Technology with the University. In spite of these varying functions, the University remains a corporate whole, with its affiliated hostels and many social activities, and the bonds of union between it and the civic authorities are ever drawing closer.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TRADE AND PORT OF MANCHESTER.

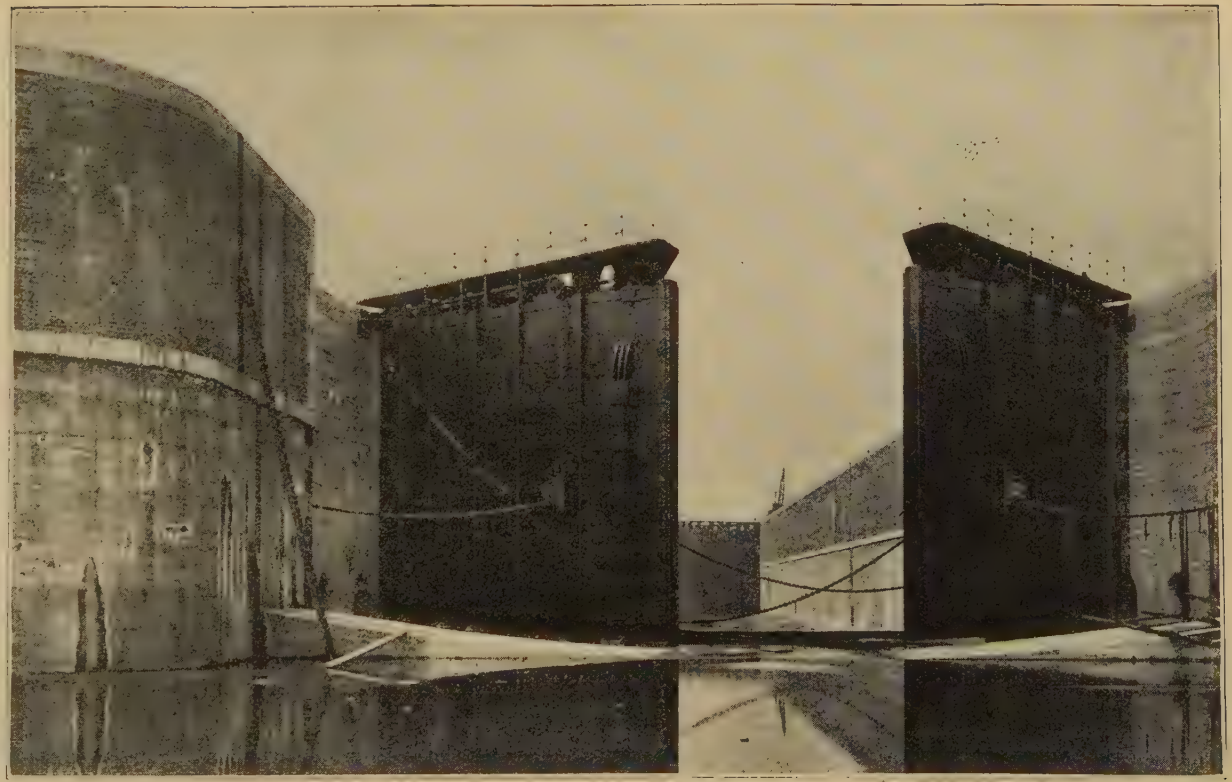
From these institutions, which aim at the intellectual development of the community, we turn to speak of its commercial progress. It has been calculated that there is, within a fifty mile radius of Manchester Exchange, a population of nine millions. Considerably more than half of this is included in Lancashire, and the population of Lancashire has increased sevenfold since the opening of the nineteenth century. It will be remembered that the Domesday Survey reported upon this district as in great part waste.

Of this teeming population—the densest in England if we except Middlesex about half a million people are engaged in the staple trade, the manufacture of cotton goods. As far back as 1830, when railways began, the value of the cotton goods exported from Lancashire was equal to one-third of the total exports of the country. In 1913, the record year, it reached close upon £98,000,000, this being exclusive of the home trade. It is still more than a quarter of the value of the manufactured goods exported from the United Kingdom.

For this great trade, which has been described as "the most nervous in the kingdom of commerce," Manchester is the main distributing centre. It is now a vast Exchange—the place where the important contracts are made. If we look to the Bank Clearing House for an indication of the total



By permission of the Manchester Ship Canal Co.] Steam-Navvies excavating the Canal Bed.



By permission of the Manchester Ship Canal Co.]

Entrance to the Ship Canal at Eastham.

volume of trade of the city, we find that the returns in 1913 reached the figure of 370 millions -a sum equal to those of Liverpool, Birmingham and Newcastle together. Here we may mention in passing that the first Manchester bank, which gave its name to Bank Street, where it was situated, was opened in 1771. The history of the Manchester banks has been written in detail, but we cannot deal with it here. As an example of the changes through which a single bank has passed, attention may be directed to the tablet over the door of the District Bank in King Street.

The dislocation caused by the war makes it impossible to take recent years as a criterion, but up to the time of the outbreak of war, the great volume of trade just mentioned was steadily increasing. Yet a quarter of a century ago Manchester trade was thought to be on the decline. It seemed as though it had reached its climax, and a steady stream of operatives was flowing out of the city. The great leap forward which took place then, and has continued ever since, was due to the construction of the Ship Canal, which heralded the re-birth of Manchester, and converted it into the greatest engineering city in the world.

THE CANAL.

This inland waterway, the total cost of which has been nearly £17,000,000, connects Manchester with the sea by a channel of water 35 miles long and 28 feet deep. Steamers 180 yards long, with a dead-weight of 13,000 tons, can now berth in the Manchester Docks, which cover 120 acres of water space, and possess 6½ miles of quays, the whole being served by nearly 100 miles of dock railways, connecting with all the principal trunk-lines and canals. Vessels have to be passed through five sets of locks from the sea, and are eventually berthed 70 feet above sea-level. Perhaps even the prophetic mind of Daniel Adamson, who first placed the scheme for a canal on a practical basis, hardly foresaw that in less than a quarter of a century from the opening, Manchester would rank as the fourth port in the kingdom for total volume of trade, and the second for oil and cotton.

It was on June the 27th, 1882, that Mr. Daniel Adamson

focussed the dreams of many years by calling a representative meeting at his residence at The Towers, Didsbury, "to consider the practicability of constructing a tidal waterway to Manchester, and to take such action thereon as may be determined." Four and a quarter years after this historic gathering, the Committee then appointed to investigate the matter, while acknowledging frankly that they had entered upon their task with an open mind, pronounced the scheme to be "a thoroughly sound commercial undertaking."

The events that followed are fresh in the minds of many. We need not dwell on the inevitable difficulties, all of which were eventually overcome, largely by the bold and far-sighted action of the Corporations of the two towns. The story has been fully told elsewhere. The first sod was cut at Eastham by Lord Ellesmere in November, 1887. At one time 15,000 men were engaged on the work, and when the hundred steam navvies had accomplished their task, it was interesting to walk down the dry bed of the future waterway. By 10.30 p.m. on the 25th of November, 1893, the Canal was filled with water for the first time, and a fortnight later the steamer "Snowdrop" conveyed the Directors from the Liverpool Landing-stage to the Manchester Docks. Four years after this Manchester was by Treasury Warrant declared to be a Port. It is useless to give statistics in detail, as the undertaking progresses so rapidly that they are out of date as soon as printed.

There is even a sequel to the story. What was once the green sward of the park of the Traffords has become, within the last few years, a great industrial area, with its factories actually laved by the waters of the Canal that will carry their products to the sea, and so to the ends of the earth. One of these factories alone employs seven thousand hands. The total accommodation of the warehouses (which are constructed on the most approved and up-to-date principles) is already over 300,000 tons. The Arms of the Corporation of Manchester, granted in 1842, include "on waves of the sea a ship under sail proper": the motto being *Concilio et labore*. The arms of the Ship Canal, which are representative of Manchester, Salford, and Warrington, show a steamship proper, and bear the motto "Navigation and commerce."

By permission of the Manchester Ship Canal Co.] The Locks and Bridge at Irlam.

By permission of the Manchester Ship Canal Co.]

A Liner coming up the Canal.

DIFFERENTIATION OF THE COTTON TRADE.

The manufacture of cotton goods in Manchester and Salford, while still considerable, is small compared with that carried on in the surrounding towns. This manufacture is highly differentiated. Spinning is mostly done in South Lancashire; weaving in North Lancashire. Even so, fine and coarse counts and cloths are restricted to special localities. Similarly, in the city itself, the various sections of the trade are localised. Dealers in yarn and grey cloth are found near the Exchange; calico-printers in Mosley Street, Portland Street, and Oxford Street; shippers in the area enclosed between Deansgate, Peter Street, and Princess Street as far as Portland Street; while the home trade is located in the streets more immediately surrounding the Old Infirmary Square. In the same way the banks have their distinctive quarters.

OTHER INDUSTRIES.

But if the cotton manufacture of Manchester and Salford has overflowed into other parts of Lancashire, they have drawn to themselves other industries. These include various branches of iron and steel work, engineering, machinery for all the operations in the cotton mills, glass, railway wagons, ordnance and ammunition, electrical plant, and clothing. Manchester is also the distributing centre for an enormous food supply. To enumerate the inventions in connection with these industries would of course be impossible; yet we may call attention to the fact that just where the first railway in the world crosses the first canal in the country, at Patricroft, there stand the works of James Nasmyth, the inventor of the steam hammer. The silk manufacture has practically disappeared. In the early part of the nineteenth century silk was a very important item in the Manchester trade. In 1832 the raw silk used in Manchester was one-fifth of the national consumption. The weaving of silk found new employment for the disused hand looms; it broke the fall of the hand-loom weaver, who was gradually starved out on the introduction of power-looms.

INFLUX OF FOREIGNERS.

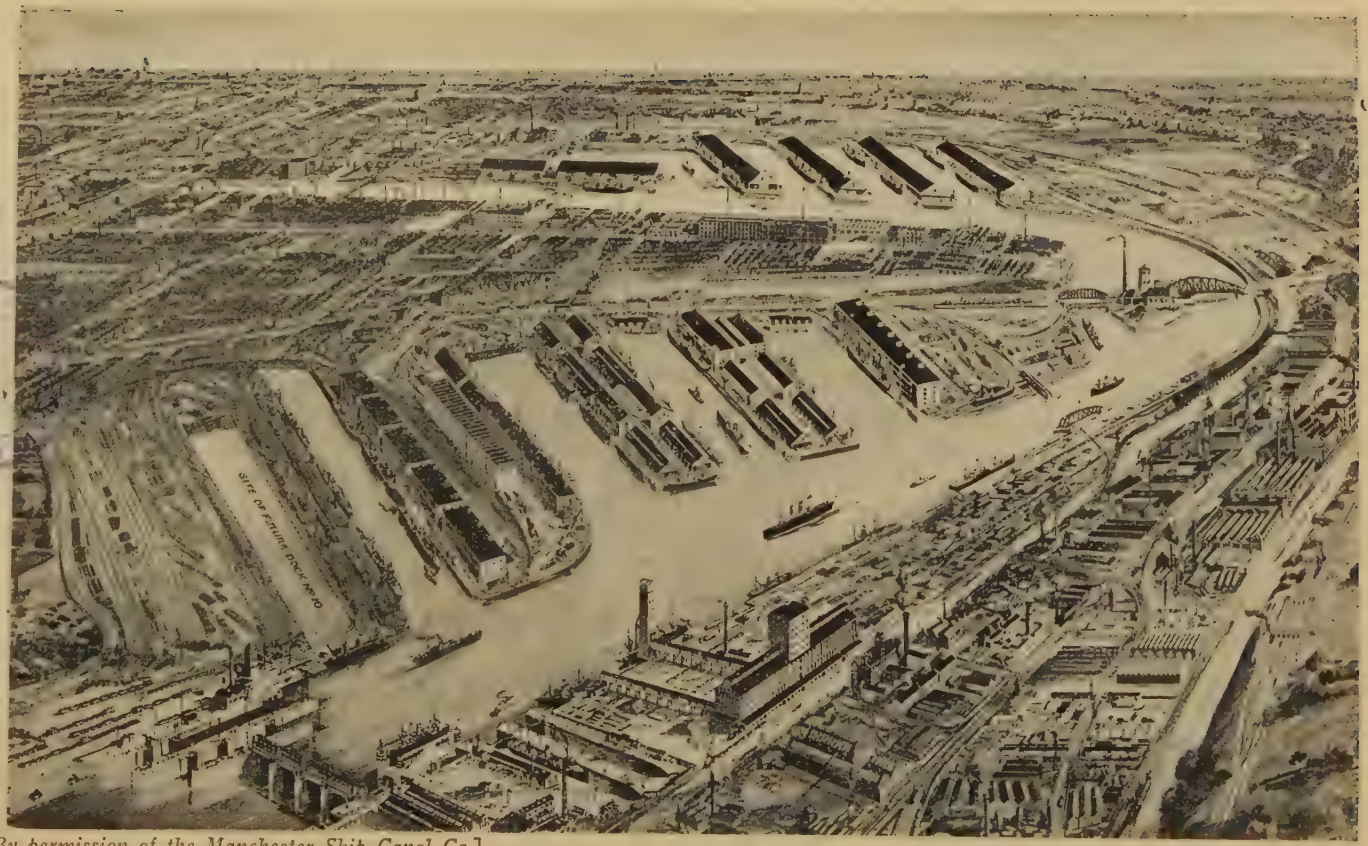
In a sketch of the Manchester trade written in 1783, quoted in an earlier chapter, stress is laid upon the advantages accruing to the Manchester merchants from the importation of workmen or ideas from London or abroad. Similarly in the nineteenth century the settlement of foreigners in Manchester has helped its trade. At first the foreign trade was conducted by English and Scotch merchants. Gradually there was an influx of merchants from abroad, especially from Germany. For centuries, transactions with the Near East were conducted through the Turkey Company, an oppressive monopoly established in the reign of Elizabeth. When its charter was surrenderd in 1825, Greeks came to Manchester to open up trade with Turkey. Later, Armenians have come also.

The advent of these merchants of other nationalities, most of whom have become naturalised, has been an advantage, because they brought with them an intimate knowledge of the requirements of the foreign consumer. They have also given a national colouring to the various districts of the city. The Greeks, for example, have congregated in the north, mainly at Kersal; the German colony is in the south, at Withington and Didsbury; in crossing from one to the other we pass through a dense Hebrew population in Cheetham and Lower Broughton.

Trade with the Far East was the monopoly of the East India Company up to 1833. For many years the Asiatic trade was conducted by what is called "adventure," or consignment —goods being sent, not to order, but on the chance of finding a market. In these risky speculations fortunes were made and lost. Before the opening of the Suez Canal there would be several months' supplies afloat at the same time.

Manchester has been successful as a distributing centre, because, firstly, she was the original focus for the marketing of cotton goods, the first branch of our export trade to reach large dimensions; secondly, she has been assisted by the local knowledge of the merchants of other nationalities who have made her their home.

By permission of the Manchester Ship Canal Co.] The Swing-bridge and Swing-aqueduct at Barton.



By permission of the Manchester Ship Canal Co.]

Bird's-eye View of the Docks.

THE EXCHANGE.

The focus of the cotton trade of Lancashire is the Manchester Royal Exchange. The first Exchange was built in 1729 by the Lord of the Manor. It seems to have entirely failed of its purpose; it became the haunt of loungers and dirt, and it was pulled down in 1792. In the interval, before another was built, the business is said to have been transacted in the neighbourhood of St. Ann's Passage, as is still commemorated by the inscription "Old Exchange" over the archway. Another explanation of this inscription is that business men met in the Assembly Room erected by Lady Ann Bland over the archway known as St. Ann's Passage. The foundation stone of the new building was laid in 1806, and this is the date which, in 1918, has been inscribed on the latest extension of this constantly expanding structure. In the course of one extension it absorbed Newall's Buildings in Cross Street, famous for the meetings of the Anti-Corn Law League. The title "Royal" was conferred after a visit from Queen Victoria, who expressed her astonishment at the size of the great hall. The present building is the largest Commercial Exchange in the world.

A visitor to High Change at 2 o'clock on a Tuesday or Friday afternoon sees before him a crowd of more than six thousand business men—there being an understanding as to where different groups are located. The opportunity for discussion afforded by this great concourse, apart from business transactions, enables the leaders of industry to gauge the tone and prospects of the various markets, and the result of their deliberations is reflected in the traffic of the streets. Much that was most picturesque in this traffic is rapidly passing away. The stranger who would enter into its secrets, past and present, must be prepared to learn a new vocabulary, in which such words occur as tripper, nipper, knocker-up, hooker-in, itinerant packer, fancies, heavies, dhooties, etc.; he must know what it means for a lurry to be "set up"; he must familiarise himself with long alleys just wide enough for a single lurry to pass, with pavements (if there are any) perhaps a foot wide; with elephantine horses governed by an

unwriteable word, or at the worst by a whip that might be a small child's toy; with drivers who seem to ride comfortably with little more than the shafts to sit upon. He will be fascinated by such sights as that of a wagon being loaded with "pieces," which are dropped upon it one by one, in rapid succession, from a window four stories up, and arranged by a man who, standing on the lurry, awaits the arrival of each fresh package, without even looking up.

The long string of lurries, drawn by noble horses (a feature, alas! fast disappearing from our streets) and manned by lurrymen and "nippers," that are seen crossing the city in the early morning represent the transport to the warehouses of goods that have arrived at the railway stations during the night. At more than one of these may be seen a station beneath a station. The loading and unloading of wagons is here carried on in cavernous places among pillars and arches that support the station above. By half-past nine some 300 lurries may have discharged their loads here; the goods are then rapidly transferred to the railway trucks, which are hoisted up to the daylight.

MIGRATION TO THE SUBURBS.

We pointed out in an earlier paragraph that already by the middle of the nineteenth century the prosperous merchant was moving outwards. This movement has been more marked in recent years. Originally he lived in the well-built town houses, some of which still remain; even Cannon Street was once a residential quarter; Mosley Street was at one time the West End of Manchester. Leaving these he first colonised such districts as Ardwick, Broughton, Pendleton, and Oxford Road, where the style of the older houses still recalls him; Upper Brook Street, Victoria Park, Rusholme, Withington, Stretford, and Old Trafford followed; then Alderley, Wilmslow, Sale and Bowdon; and now he has reached Southport, St. Ann's, Blackpool, Disley and Buxton. Meanwhile, the extension of the tramway system has enabled the workers also to find their homes at a distance from the city.

By permission of the Manchester Ship Canal Co.]

On the Ship Canal. A Grain Elevator.

By permission of the Manchester Ship Canal Co.]

On the Ship Canal. Unloading Bananas.

THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

Over the interests of this great commercial community the Manchester Chamber of Commerce has watched for more than a century. The archives of this body tell of many interesting crises in the Manchester trade. The "commercial society," as we have seen, was founded in 1784, on the eve of the Revolutionary War, and just after the severance of the American colonies. Already legislation had touched the local trade. In 1736 the "Manchester Act" had legalised the manufacture of "fustians," provided the warp was made entirely of linen. On these very fustians, in 1784, Pitt—casting about for a source of revenue—imposed the famous "fustian tax." The broadsides of the period show the storm of protest that arose in Manchester, and when, as the result of a petition, the tax was repealed, the deputies, on their return from London, were chaired through the streets of the town. During the war with France there was constant friction over the question of the convoys necessary to guard the merchant vessels; eventually a contribution towards their expense was levied upon the merchants; it was known as the "convoy tax." By the end of the century, however, the Commercial Society had despaired of performing any useful service, and in 1801 it was dissolved; it reappeared as the "Manchester Chamber of Commerce" in 1820. With the contests that have waged round such controversial subjects as Bimetallism, the Indian Cotton Duties, and Protective Tariffs, we can hardly deal here.

WORK OF THE CITY COUNCIL.

The enormous growth of the city due to the expansion of its trade has laid heavy responsibilities on the City Council that cares for its welfare. We have already touched on some aspects of its interest in questions of public health. The other undertakings fall mainly under the headings of the provision of water, lighting, mechanical power, and the means of communication, and the constant vigilance maintained by the Watch Committee. We have spoken of some of the earlier sources of the water supply. The present provision comes from the works at Longdendale, in N.E. Cheshire (commenced

in 1848), which are capable of sending 22 million gallons a day from a gathering ground of thirty square miles, and from the Thirlmere scheme, by which, from a drainage area of 11,000 acres, fifty million gallons a day can be delivered through an aqueduct 96 miles long, of which some fifteen miles are in tunnel. In both cases the basin drained is free from limestone, and the water is therefore quite soft. The Corporation makes use of part of this water for a system of hydraulic power, with three large pumping stations, the pressure being available night and day. As we write a further scheme is under consideration; it is now proposed to obtain additional supplies from Haweswater.

Gas was first used at a mill in Salford in 1805; it was introduced into Manchester two years later. The Corporation gasworks are now the fifth as regards size in the United Kingdom. One of the holders at Bradford has a capacity of 10½ million cubic feet, this being the second largest in England. Since 1893 electric light has been supplied by the Corporation. We are reminded by these details of the fact that in the middle of the eighteenth century the streets of Manchester were illuminated solely by two oil-lamps, one on the Old Bridge and one at Manchester Cross. Details of the sums paid for the lighting and cleaning of these lamps, as well as for oil and wick, appear regularly in the Constables' accounts for the period. Electric power, supplied from a number of generating stations, is now distributed over an area of forty-six square miles. This power has entirely replaced the old system of horse-traction for trams. The Manchester tramway system is one of the largest in the Kingdom. Measured as a single track its length is about 200 miles, and the number of passengers carried in a year is above 200,000,000. The rapid development of this system of transport has led to serious congestion in the central parts of the city. The Salford Corporation works a length of over 75 miles, and carries nearly 60,000,000 passengers a year.

PROVISION FOR THE POOR.

For the administration of the Poor Law over the great area of the city there were, till 1915, three authorities—the

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Seven-Storey Warehouse at Manchester Dock, No. 8.

By permission of the Manchester Ship Canal Co.]

Cotton in Sheds : Manchester Docks.

Unions of Manchester, South Manchester, and Prestwich. These are now amalgamated to form one authority for the whole district. The first proposal for a Manchester workhouse, made in 1731, met with a curious fate. Party feeling ran very high here at the time, the period being half-way between the two Jacobite risings, in both of which Manchester was concerned. The High Churchmen and the Jacobites were afraid that the control of the institution might be in the hands of the Whigs and Presbyterians; the result of the struggle that ensued was that the project fell through. The first workhouse was erected in 1763. The Salford workhouse in Greengate followed thirty years later.

Manchester is not so rich in endowed charities as Salford; the latter benefited greatly by the munificence of Humphrey Booth (who built Holy Trinity Church in 1634), and his grandson and namesake. The present annual income of the Booth charities alone is nearly £20,000. The invested surplus of the Relief fund, which as we have seen was raised at the time of the cotton famine, now forms the Cotton Districts' Fund, which provides convalescent treatment for cotton operatives at several homes.

SOCIAL AND PHILANTHROPIC INSTITUTIONS.

The various Medical and Educational charities, the Societies and Settlements for social work, the Associations for the protection and rescue of different sections of the community—which together form a magnificent and ever-growing effort on the part of Manchester philanthropists for the social amelioration of the less fortunate inhabitants of the city—are too numerous to be even named here. The recognition of the various needs has led to a multiplicity of efforts in this direction, such as perhaps no other modern city can show. Manchester and Salford have also been the birthplace and home of a number of great causes and movements, whose influence has since spread over a much wider area.

Passing over the Repeal of the Corn Laws, which is dealt with in its proper place, we have seen that the germ of the Factory Acts appeared here; that the man who first made

legislation for public health possible was born here; and that Manchester has given a lead to the country in the matter of the treatment of the feeble-minded. The medical charities of the city, entirely dependent upon voluntary effort, are perhaps as comprehensive as those of any other city in the country, and among these the special interests of women and children are by no means overlooked.

The Sunday School movement was initiated here as early as the year 1785 by Thomas Fildes. The first Society for Women's Suffrage was founded in Manchester in 1867, simultaneously with the inauguration of similar Societies in London and Edinburgh. The Independent Order of Rechabites first saw the light in Salford in 1835, and the United Kingdom Alliance was founded in Manchester in 1853. The Sunday Closing Association, the National Public Schools Association, and the Education Aid Society also had Manchester as their birthplace. The Statistical Society of Manchester is the oldest in the Kingdom.

Organisations having their headquarters in Manchester took part in the long agitation which culminated in the Reform Act of 1867, and the National Reform Union for many years conducted its propaganda from the same centre. Manchester and Salford have taken a lead also in the institution of Lads' Clubs, and in the Boy Scout and Girl Guide movements.

TRADE DISPUTES.

In Manchester and Salford also originated the movements for settling the great disputes between Capital and Labour. The Trades Union movement had received a new lease of life in 1825, on the repeal of the Combination Laws; this impetus was helped by the inspiration of Robert Owen, who, it will be remembered, first made his mark in Manchester. The constant defeat of the local Unions led to the belief that combination was necessary to success. This idea first took practical shape in Lancashire, where a great trade federation was attempted in 1830. In the same year the first Co-operative Congress was held, this movement also having originated with Robert Owen. To Rochdale, however, belongs the honour of starting the first Co-operative Society.

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Interior of Warehouse at Trafford Park.

Block lent by the Royal Exchange Assurance Co.]

The Boer War Memorial in St. Ann's Square.

The Grand National Consolidated Trades Union, formed in 1834 on Owen's lines, failed through weakness of organisation. Just forty years later, a great demonstration of Trades-unionists was held in Pomona Gardens (ocean-going steamers are berthed there now) to express sympathy with the agricultural labourers of the South-eastern counties, who were then "locked out." The famous struggle was to follow some eighteen years later.

It was in October, 1892, that the two organised powers of employers and employed met in memorable conflict. The employers had made a reduction in wages of 5 per cent. A general strike followed, which in its effects carried men's minds back to the days of the Cotton Famine. The deadlock was ended by the Brooklands Agreement, and the result of its operation was that, for the twenty-one years following, there were only two general stoppages, viz., in 1908 and 1910. In 1911 the formation of the Industrial Council placed the settlement of such disputes under the immediate control of the Government of the day.

LITERATURE AND THE FINE ARTS.

From these commercial questions we turn to note very briefly the associations of Manchester with Literature and Art. It has been said that, broadly speaking, the literary history of Manchester may be symbolised by the names of Humphrey Chetham, who founded a library, and so helped to create a taste for reading; John Byrom, more famous as a writer of epigrams than as a poet, who wrote cleverly, but with no distinctive note; and Elizabeth Gaskell, who produced works which were provincial, it is true, but only provincial as regards their subject matter. The Literary and Philosophical Society, founded—largely by the influence of Dr. Percival—in 1781, has been so much more scientific than literary that its title is almost a misnomer. The statues at the entrance to the Town Hall commemorate two of its most famous members—John Dalton, the propounder of the atomic theory, and James Prescott Joule, the discoverer of the mechanical equivalent of heat.

Of Chetham's foundation, and of John Byrom's career we have already spoken; of Mrs. Gaskell's works it is interesting to remember that they were almost all written in her Manchester home, the Georgian house in Plymouth Grove, to which reference is made in a later chapter. A simple cross marks the spot where she lies with her husband and daughters, in the quiet graveyard (pictured in her "Ruth") in the pretty country-town which she immortalised as "Cranford."

Besides Mrs. Gaskell, who of course outstrips them all, Manchester has been fortunate in its authoresses, all of whom have drawn vivid pictures of the life of the locality—Mrs. Linnæus Banks in her "Manchester Man"; Mrs. Louisa Potter in her "Lancashire Memories"; and Mrs. Frances Hodgson Burnett in her beautiful autobiography of her girlhood, entitled "The one I knew best of all," which gives us a welcome picture of mid-Victorian Salford, all the more interesting because the home she describes in Islington Square is still standing.

Manchester claims De Quincey with pride as her son, rather because he was born here than for any marked connection between the city and his works, though his reminiscences of his early days at Greenheys and at the Grammar School include some of the not least striking episodes in his "Confessions" and "Autobiography." Historical romances, again including local references, are well represented by Harrison Ainsworth. For living pictures of the life and struggles of the operatives, at the time when those struggles were the hardest, we have Samuel Bamford's "Walks Among the Workers," and his "Passages from the Life of a Radical"; while the distinctive local dialect is represented in the writings of John Collier, known as "Tim Bobbin," of Ben Brierley, and of Edwin Waugh. Drinkwater's History of the Siege of Gibraltar is worthy of mention because it was written by a Manchester man, *alumnus* of its free Grammar School, who describes from personal experience the performance of the gallant 72nd Manchester Regiment which—raised for service on another continent—distinguished itself by the defence of that fortress. Recently the "vanished

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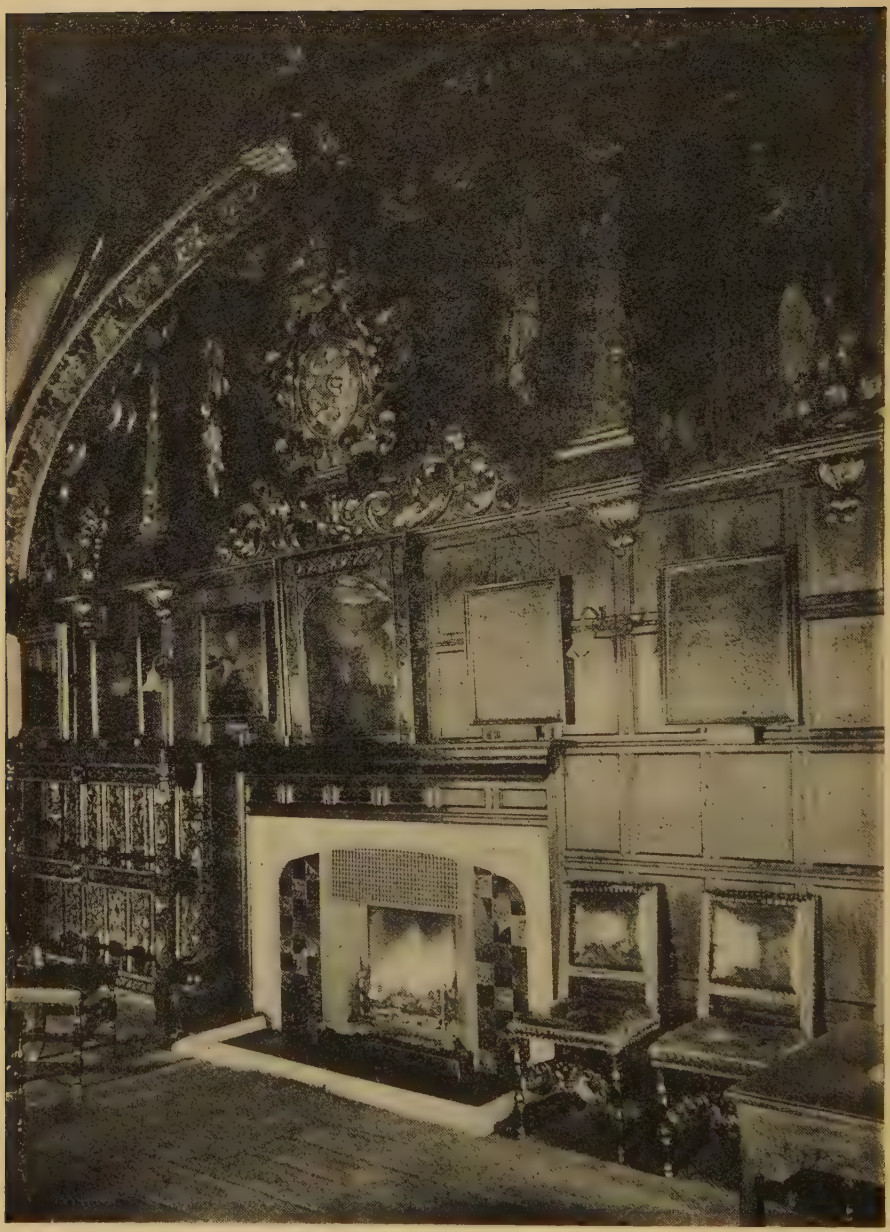
Interior of Chetham's Library.



From the Collection of the late Fletcher Moss.]

Chetham's Hospital : Fireplace in the Reading-Room.

life " of Francis Thompson the poet has added another name to Manchester's Literary Roll of Honour.

We have seen the first public Free Library in the country opened at Chetham's Hospital in the middle of the seventeenth century; in 1849 the first municipal Free Library was opened at Peel Park. In a later paragraph we refer to the opening of the Manchester Free Library, which with its score of branches, must now contain close upon 400,000 volumes. Its first home was in Campfield, in the building erected as a Hall of Science at the suggestion of Robert Owen; it was afterwards transferred to the old Town Hall, on the site of the present Lloyd's Bank in King Street, just below the residence of Harrison Ainsworth; and it now awaits a worthy home in temporary buildings in Piccadilly.

The Christie Library at the University, which has absorbed a number of individual collections, including that of the historian Freeman, must now contain nearly 100,000 volumes, and to these Libraries was added in 1899 the John Rylands Library, housed in one of the most beautiful buildings in the city, whose treasures, including as they do the Althorp collection, elevate it to a prominent position among the greatest libraries of the world.

Of music and the drama it is less easy to speak with precision. The first note of original music that came from Manchester was the tune to John Byrom's "Christians Awake," composed in 1767 by Wainwright, the Old Church organist. We have already referred to the Gentlemen's Concerts, which began only a few years later. The leading events in the history of Manchester music, however, were the formation of the Hallé orchestra in the middle of the nineteenth century, and the foundation, by the efforts of the same leader, of the Royal Manchester College of Music. Quite recently the performance of opera in the city has made remarkable strides. Similarly, the cult of the drama—in which Salford took the lead, the Theatre Royal in Manchester being opened in 1775—has been crowned by the institution here of the first Repertory Theatre established in Britain. Kemble acted in Manchester as early as 1777; and Macready and Irving performed here before they were heard of in

London. The Manchester Independent Theatre was the first in the provinces to produce Ibsen's plays. The leaf of Stanley Houghton, the Manchester dramatist, perished in the green, but not before he had left the world, in his "Hindle Wakes," a faithful picture of Lancashire life.

Welding these various interests together, and focussing public attention upon them, the *Manchester Guardian* has now for over a century rendered high service to the social, intellectual and artistic life of Manchester. To this fact eloquent testimony was borne by speakers of all shades of political opinion at the Dinner held at the Midland Hotel in celebration of its centenary.

THE ANNALS OF THE LAST HALF CENTURY.

We have said that a connected history of the last three-quarters of a century would be impossible in the space at our disposal. Yet, as we glance rapidly over the annals of this period, there are scenes and events that it is difficult to omit, though no selection could give general satisfaction.

There are the processions and rejoicings at the accession of Queen Victoria—Salford and Manchester joining hands, as has been usual at such celebrations—there are similar ceremonies in the case of her son and grandson. There are the visits of great leaders in philanthropy, in politics, in literature, in discovery. Elizabeth Fry visited the New Bailey prison in 1818; as far back as 1774 the old House of Correction had been inspected and criticised by John Howard. As early as 1838 Thomas Carlyle was here, but the only speech he made was delivered to the night-watchman, who disturbed his rest by crying the hour. "Can't you give up that noise?" cried Carlyle, throwing up his window; "you are keeping a person awake." Then he tells how all was at length silent by 5 a.m.; but "at half-past five all went off like a mill-race or ocean-tide. Boom! far and wide. It was the mills that were all starting then. I have heard few sounds more impressive to me in the mood I was in." We may add that some of the Watchmen's Boxes were to be seen in the streets within living memory; one, for example, in Chapel Street, Salford.

From the Collection of the late Fletcher Moss.]

Chetham's Hospital: The Reading-Room.

Block lent by Dr. Guppy.]

The John Rylands Library. Exterior view.

PUBLIC

We have already referred to lectures delivered in Manchester by John Ruskin. In December, 1864, he spoke on "Kings' Treasuries" in the Rusholme Town Hall in aid of a fund for a local library. A week later, at the Town Hall in King Street, he took as his subject "Queens' Gardens." This lecture, delivered in aid of schools for Ancoats, afterwards appeared under the title "Sesame and Lilies."

Over and over again during these years has the Free Trade Hall reverberated to the cheers that greeted the statesmen of all parties—Palmerston, Gladstone, Disraeli, Parnell, and so on; patriots like Kossuth, explorers like Stanley, Nansen, Shackleton, Peary and Scott; or Charles Dickens giving his famous readings. What would we not give to have been present at the opening of the Manchester Free Library in Campfield in 1852, when the platform included Earl Shaftesbury, John Bright, Charles Dickens, William Makepeace Thackeray, Bulwer Lytton, Sir James Stephen, and Monckton Milnes! There was a resolution expressing the hope that the books may prove a source of pleasure "in the cottages, garrets and cellars of the people" (strange that cellar-dwellings should be recognised on such an occasion!). In proposing it Dickens made playful allusion to the "Manchester School." "Some tell me," he said, "that it is broad and comprehensive; some that it is narrow and limited; some that it is all cant; and some that it is all cotton. I have solved the question by finding here to-day that the Manchester School is a great free school, bent on carrying instruction to the poorest hearth." Thackeray, who seconded, surmised humbly that "the sort of books he wrote" would occupy small space here; they were merely the "tarts," in comparison with which History and Science were the "bread" of Literature.

The period we are contemplating covers the enthronement of five Anglican Bishops—Prince Lee, Fraser, Moorhouse, Knox, and Temple; and of the Roman Catholic Bishops Vaughan, Bilborrow, and Casartelli, the first of whom became a Cardinal. It witnessed the visit of Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort in 1851, when 80,000 school children sang to them at Peel Park, where now stand the Victoria and Albert statues; and again in 1857, when they opened the

Exhibition; there have been many other visits of members of the Royal Family to perform similar functions. It saw the opening in 1866 of the Memorial Hall; the inception of the various Parks and Museums; of the Belle Vue Gardens and the Manchester Aquarium, afterwards converted to St. Bede's College; the beginnings of the Manchester Museum, which absorbed the collections of the Natural History Society in 1868; and the opening of the Town Hall in Albert Square in 1877, a structure described at the time as "probably unequalled for size, completeness, and adaptability for its purpose among the municipal buildings of Europe"; the procession on this occasion being from five to six miles long. The total cost of this great structure, the roofing of which runs to $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres, was over three-quarters of a million; a thousand workmen were employed at one time on the building, which contains 314 rooms; the twenty-one bells in the central tower form a chromatic scale, the largest weighing just under $6\frac{1}{2}$ tons; they are inscribed with stanzas from Tennyson's "In Memoriam." The words that encircle the tower above the clock are "Teach us to number our days." Besides the six statues at the north-western corner, illustrating the local history, there are representations of Henry III, Edward III, and Elizabeth; and the statue that surmounts the central gable is that of Agricola. The medallions typifying spinning and weaving (one in Princess Street and one in Lloyd Street) are worthy of notice. The accommodation afforded by the Town Hall has long been inadequate for its purpose. The General Post Office, one of the most imposing structures in the city, was opened in 1884, and in the following year came the first General Election after the Redistribution that gave Manchester six seats instead of two, and Salford three instead of one; the next Reform Act was to raise the number of Manchester constituencies to ten. The year 1887 witnessed the great Jubilee Exhibition, visited by nearly five millions of people; and the cutting of the first sod of the Ship Canal at Eastham by Lord Egerton. Seven years later the Canal was opened by Queen Victoria. The Centenary of the Chamber of Commerce was celebrated in 1897; and in 1909, only a year before his death, King Edward

Block lent by Dr. Guppy.]

The John Rylands Library. Interior view. The main Library.

Block lent by Dr. Guppy.]

The John Rylands Library. The main staircase.

PUBLIC

VII, accompanied by Queen Alexandra, came to Manchester to open the new Royal Infirmary in Oxford Road.

SPORT.

No account of Manchester would be complete that omitted mention of the position the place has taken in the world of Sport. It is a far cry from the games of football and giddy-gaddy played in the streets of the mediæval town to Australian Test Matches at Old Trafford, the National Cup Tie at the Crystal Palace, Athletic Championships at Fallowfield, a close finish on the Racecourse at Castle Irwell, and the competition for the Davis Cup on the Northern Tennis Ground at Didsbury.

We have Mr. Hornby's authority for the statement that the Manchester Cricket Club was in existence at any rate as early as 1818, and that its ground was first at the Crescent, Salford, (another instance of going to Salford for recreation), and afterwards at Moss Lane, where an All England team appeared in the forties. The defeat of a Manchester eleven at Lords in 1842 is attributed to the fact that their bowling was "of the old underhand school." From Moss Lane the Club migrated to the site of the Botanical Gardens, from which the Exhibition of 1857 drove them to their present home. Seven years later the Lancashire Club was formed, and the first County match played at Old Trafford took place between Lancashire and Middlesex in 1865.

Of the two great Association Football Clubs, the Manchester City, which has recently migrated from Hyde Road, the scene of so many exciting contests, to its new ground at Moss Side, won the National Cup in 1904; the Manchester United, a club which developed from the original Newton Heath Football Club, and moved its ground some years ago from Clayton to Old Trafford, carried off the same distinction in 1911. The Manchester Rugby Club is amateur; on its ground at Kersal it has welcomed colonial teams more than once.

Golf has developed rapidly in the district, and there are now over a score of links, besides the municipal golf links at Heaton Park. Associations for other forms of recreation—rowing, walking, cycling, fishing, swimming, racquets, chess, and so on, are too numerous to mention.

CHAPTER XXX.

The Romance of Manchester Streets.

Whenever the question is asked: What is the most abiding trace of the Romans left in Britain? the answer is, almost invariably, their roads. This is only an illustration of the way in which roads persist through the ages; buildings, cities, generations, even peoples and races, pass and disappear; the roads remain. In his beautiful "Historical Geography of the Holy Land," Sir George Adam Smith writes: "Of all things in Galilee it was the sight of *the immemorial roads* which taught me and moved me most—roads which were in touch with Rome and with Babylon."

It is the same with the streets of a city whose story is rooted deep in antiquity; they form the one unbroken link with all the past; and the streets of Manchester have at least this in common with the roads of Galilee, that they too are in touch with Rome; they are thronged, as we have said already, with the memories of nearly two thousand years. The tens of thousands who stream into the city every morning, who crowd the trains and the trams with tired faces in the evening, have this in common with the millions who have preceded them through the centuries—reaching right back to the moment when the Roman *metator* struck his *groma* into the virgin soil on the banks of Medlock in the first century of our era, and set off the lines of the first Roman camp here—that day after day they tread the same streets. And it is here, in the thoroughfares of two millenniums, that history comes to our aid—indeed the Muse of History in ancient mythology was represented as holding out an open scroll—peopling these ancient streets with scenes and faces—picturesque views of olden time—memories of great causes, struggles and victories, and of famous men and women—so that the past meets us at every turn.

The Chester Road, where it now passes into Deansgate,

Block lent by Dr. Guppy.]

The John Rylands Library. The East Cloister.

Block lent by Messrs. Sherratt and Hughes.]

The Assize Courts.

formed part of the main thoroughfare joining the two great military centres of the north in Roman times, part also of one of the two main Roman routes from London to the Great Wall and to Scotland; along it passed—there is no shadow of doubt—Roman emperors, Roman pro-consuls, and Roman legions; along it streamed the troops that marched to garrison the Great Wall and the Wall of Pius; Edward the Elder rode over it; probably William the Conqueror when, in 1070, he marched from York to subdue Chester; and six centuries later, Deansgate appears on the earliest map of Manchester which we possess, as the longest and straightest of the few streets that then existed. Far other is the street which is probably the next oldest, the narrow winding lane (see how its windings persist!) still known as Long Millgate—the "gate" here and in Deansgate has of course no reference to a town gate, the word is used merely with its old meaning of an avenue of approach—and Millgate was the approach to the mill of the Lord of the Manor of Manchester, along which generations of his tenants bore their corn to be ground, as well as the millstones to grind it; along which also generations of the *alumni* of Hugh Oldham's foundation have wended their way, willingly or unwillingly, to school; along which too the truant De Quincey slipped away "in the deep lustre of a cloudless July morning," more than a hundred years ago.

The broad straight modern thoroughfare of Corporation Street has cut its way relentlessly through much that was ancient, but in spite of it, "Withingreave" still leads from Hyde's Cross to Shude Hill, and so on to Newton Lane and the way that leadeth unto Ancoats; Todd Street still represents Toad Lane (was it originally T'owd Lane?); Hanging Ditch still winds round to Hunter's Lane; and here, on a Christmas Eve, some two centuries ago, an improvised choir sang the hymn "Christians Awake!" in front of the house of the author of the words, the composer of the tune conducting. Hunter's Lane is now the level part of Cannon Street, and Cannon Street, once a residential quarter of Manchester, where its first independent chapel still stands (though now used for other purposes than worship), is not without its memories. Even as we walk up Corporation Street to-day, we may in a moment

lose ourselves in a perfect maze of narrow courts and alleys on either hand; we may, for example, turn off to the right down "Cock-pit hill," and think of a form of recreation that has gone by the board; or to the left along Cromford Court, the approach to Richard Arkwright's warehouse, which leads us again into Hodson's Square, named after an ancestor of the famous Hodson of Hodson's Horse, who captured the King of Delhi in the Indian Mutiny; or to the right again, along Bull's Head Yard, and so past the very first Manchester Post Office, into the old, old Market Place, where there rise before us at once the Stocks, the Pillory, the Whipping Post, the Obelisk, the Conduit, the Old Exchange, the labyrinth of Smithy Door, or even the wooden stalls that blocked the way here within our own recollection.

And now through "Old Mealgate" (the Mealhouse which probably gave it its name is gone) we catch a glimpse of the "Old Church," the centre of Manchester's devotions, rejoicing, and mourning for perhaps twelve centuries; and beyond it, across the ancient "Apple Market," now Fennel Street, the Priests' College, which stands on the site of the old Baronial Hall; and this carries us back at once to all the picturesque detail of feudal times:—the long procession of manorial lords (not all resident here); we can picture them riding out in mailed armour, or with hawk on wrist; the long procession, again, of wardens and fellows,—Dr. Dee, the alchemist, is one of them, Hollinworth, the first historian of Manchester, the silver-tongued Wroe, and gentle Henry Newcome; later, we seem to see the far-sighted benefactor whose blue-coated pensioners are playing in the yard to-day, dreaming his dream that came true beyond his hopes; then the two worthy "Doctors," strolling across to the "College," to drink green tea and discuss the Epistle to the Romans; last the historical novelist, sitting in the projecting window of the Warden's room, writing his romances. All of this is enchanted, classic ground, for here Manchester had its beginning.

On the opposite side of the Market Place, Market Street, once the narrow winding Market Stead Lane, is now perhaps the main artery of the city's traffic. Passing next into

St. Ann's Square, we remember that this has always been field or "street"; the site for six centuries of the annual fair; for some two hundred years now the fashionable promenade of Manchester. If we cross Victoria Bridge, trying to count for how many centuries a bridge here, and a ford preceding it, formed the only connecting link between the two towns, we are at once in the oldest street in Salford, and there rise before us another cross, another pillory, stocks, courthouse, archery butts, and so on; Lord Strange's little army is again here "besieging" Manchester; a Fellow of the College is kneeling in the street to do homage to Bonnie Prince Charlie, as he rides in from Preston; or John Wesley is preaching to a divided crowd, one of whom threatens him with the fire-engine.

* * * *

Such an Itinerary of *Old* Manchester and Salford may be written with little difficulty; to compile a directory of modern streets and buildings is not so easy. It has been said that "to walk about Central Manchester with open eyes is like going through a picture gallery in which there are no names affixed to the pictures, but in which the personality of some veritable artist is constantly presenting itself." There is another point to note: it has been given to a few men to leave to the city quite a number of examples of their individual work. Thus the architect who gave us the powerful yet graceful structure which we know as the Free Trade Hall left us also the massive Manchester and Salford Bank in Mosley Street, "the model of a bank building," the adjoining house, which is the best specimen remaining to us of a town mansion, and many other buildings of refined style. The architect, again, of the Gothic pile of the Law Courts also designed the Town Hall and the University Buildings that form three sides of the quadrangle. The Venetian Gothic pile of the Police Courts, and the classical building which houses the Arts School at the University, were the conceptions of other minds.

No one who has known Manchester for a considerable time can fail to miss sadly some buildings that were once familiar, notably the Old Town Hall in King Street, which served for

so many years as a Reference Library, the façade of which is still preserved in Heaton Park. The present building, occupied by Lloyds' Bank, can hardly be said to compensate for the loss. At least three vistas in Manchester streets are worthy of mention: the view up King Street, the Lombard Street of Manchester, which is greatly helped by the gable at the top; the look up Portland Street, the street of warehouses *par excellence;* and the peep down the long line of hospitals, as seen from Oxford Road some distance beyond the University, nearly all of these having sprung up within the last few years, all of them, moreover, being the outcome of voluntary effort.

Perhaps the Exchange Approach is the best point from which to commence an Itinerary of Central Manchester, as we see before us, to begin with, the heart of the old town, from which the newer thoroughfares radiate, and the two structures which tell us most of the past—the cathedral and the "college." Immediately behind the latter rises the unlovely pile (of course it is a back view) of the ancient Grammar School, founded originally in a tiny building more than four centuries ago, rebuilt and successively enlarged in 1776, 1837, 1870, 1880, and 1910, and now seeking a more congenial home. The front of the Grammar School in Long Millgate has architectural features that have been dear to generations of its *alumni,* and facing the Grammar School there stood (up to 1923) the picturesque building known since 1842 as the "Poets' Corner," and so named because it was the rendezvous of some local verse-writers. It was for many years the "Sun Inn," familiar to readers of the "Manchester Man," and we may probably date it as far back at least as the beginning of the seventeenth century. Many of the finest buildings in the city we must now approach along streets that are not always beautiful.

Leaving the great pile of Victoria Station, with its seventeen platforms, on our right, we first visit the Assize Courts, already mentioned, by the way that once led to Strangeways Hall. In the niches on the façade we note representations of a long series of exponents of Law, reaching from Alfred the Great to Sir Matthew Hale; while at a giddy height above the

Photo by F. Ireland.] [*Block lent by Messrs. Sherratt and Hughes*

The Manchester Royal Exchange (before the recent extension).

Block lent by the Master of the Manchester Royal Exchange Ltd.]

The Present Royal Exchange.

central figure is a colossal figure of Moses, holding the Tables of stone. The windows of the second floor are ornamented with representations of British sovereigns from Alfred the Great to Victoria. Returning to the Cathedral and passing the modern Corn and Produce Exchange, and the numerous produce warehouses on our left, we reach the Royal Exchange, an institution long past its centenary, whose building has been repeatedly enlarged, one extension absorbing the famous "Newall's Buildings," once occupied by the Anti-Corn Law League; the latest improvement carrying the Exchange right across Bank Street, which took its name from the first Manchester Bank. In this case, very fortunately for Manchester, the graceful classical style of the earlier building has been carefully preserved; though even here we must not lift our gaze too high; we miss, moreover, the noble pillared entrance that once faced Cross Street.

St. Ann's Church, a good example of Italian Renaissance, which was once crowned by a cupola, blocks the end of the famous Square, of which the Exchange now occupies nearly one side. From the Square, the western arm of St. Ann Street, once Toll Street, leads to Deansgate, where among a number of modern buildings—church-houses, homes of religious and philanthropic institutions, revenue, railway and education offices, and the like—the beautiful Gothic pile of the John Rylands Library (completed in 1899) stands supreme. The remains of the Roman fort, and the first Railway Station in the world, lie further down in the neighbourhood of Liverpool Road.

The Act for widening Deansgate (which was not always the broad thoroughfare it is to-day) was obtained in 1869. In St. John Street, off Deansgate, the Harley Street of Manchester, blocked by its church, a curious specimen of revived Gothic, consecrated in 1769, we have excellent examples of the quondam residences of the Manchester merchants of the early part of the nineteenth century; and here we may take the opportunity of pointing out that it is interesting, as we go about the city, to note how many of these old residences still remain, with their high ornamental doorways, their wide staircases, and mahogany balustrades; speaking—to those

who will listen—of the social life of long ago; though now they are turned to far other purposes than to serve as family mansions. In Quay Street, also turning westwards, out of Deansgate, is the New Theatre, opened in 1912, the largest in the city, serving at present as the Opera-house of Manchester. In Quay Street also stands the building now used as the County Court offices, which was the first home of the Owens College, and before that the residence for some time of Richard Cobden.

The eastern arm of St. Ann's Street, once Queen Street, facing Cross Street Chapel, leads us into Cross Street, formerly Red Cross Street, which again takes us to Albert Square, the eastern side of which is filled by the principal façade of the Town Hall, with its clock-tower, 280 feet high, the whole building (opened in 1877), occupying a triangle of nearly two acres. Proposals for its extension have been considered more than once, and the project cannot be long delayed. Many will remember the occasion when crowds were seen daily gazing intently at the gilded spiked ball which surmounts the building, on which a pigeon (presumably flying in the dark) had impaled itself. The bird was taken down eventually, and is now preserved in the sculpture hall below.

The buildings that flank the square on its other sides are by no means equal in architectural merit; one of the best of them, the Memorial Hall, was erected by the Unitarians in 1864, as a bicentenary memorial of the secession of 1662. Close by is the building where the famous Bradshaw's Railway Guides are printed.

The area encircled by these buildings has served as the central place of assembly for the city on many notable occasions, but the scene is never more impressive than when the signal is given for the two minutes' silence on Armistice Day.

The Town Hall is the one building in Manchester that can actually be *seen*—thanks to the spacious Square. It is best viewed when the Square is empty and silent, as, for example, on Saturday afternoon or Sunday, and it is then that we may realise what a splendid "ruin" it will make, to excite the wonder of the South Sea Islander of the future. There are

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The Manchester Town Hall.

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architectural features not only in its exterior, but also in its corridors and staircases and mantels, as well as in its inner courts (where a "Bridge of Sighs" is to be seen)—that are perhaps hardly appreciated as they might be.

Before leaving the Square we may note that it is in north latitude 53° 28′ 45″, its longitude being 2° 14′ 38″ west of Greenwich; and that an Ordnance Bench mark on the Mount Street corner of the Town Hall registers a height of 133.3 ft. above mean sea-level at Liverpool.

From Albert Square, Princess Street, one of the great business thoroughfares, leads south-east between great business houses till, crossing Shooter's Brook and the Medlock, its line is continued as Upper Brook Street to the gates of Victoria Park.

Mount Street leads us due south from the Square—past the severe building known as the Friends' Meeting House—where hand-written posters, varied from week to week, turn our thoughts daily towards the Ideal of "Peace on earth among men of goodwill"—into the historic Peter Street, where, to the west of the great modern pile of the Midland Hotel, we find, on the actual site of the tragedy of Peterloo, the principal collection (strange to say!) of Manchester's houses of entertainment—the Free Trade Hall, now acquired by the Corporation (the present building dates from 1856, replacing an earlier one opened in 1843); the Theatre Royal (dating from 1845), the oldest theatre in Manchester; the Gaiety, the first English Repertory Theatre; the Y.M.C.A.; and so on. Among these rises the Albert Hall, the new centre of the great Wesleyan Social Mission, with which the name of Mr. Collier will always be identified. The galaxy of pleasure-houses has overflowed into Oxford Street, where we find the Prince's Theatre, opened by Charles Calvert in 1864, and the scene of his first Shakespearian performance; the Hippodrome, the Palace of Varieties, and so on. Here also, though unfortunately they are too near to be seen to advantage, we may admire two of the finest modern additions to the architecture of Manchester, the handsome buildings respectively of the Calico Printers' Association and the Refuge Assurance Company.

We are here crossing Whitworth Street, lately improved into one of the most imposing thoroughfares of Manchester, containing some of the most modern and striking buildings as warehouses—the site also of one of the St. Mary's hospitals, the Central (Municipal) High School for Boys and Girls, and the great Municipal College of Technology, a building of commanding proportions in the French Renaissance style, constructed principally of terra cotta, covering more than an acre and a half of ground, and surmounted by its observatory, where regular meteorological records are taken.

Oxford Street, whose meaner shops are gradually being replaced by handsome modern structures, now dips past Oxford Road Station into the vale of the little River Medlock, rising from which we find ourselves in what was one of the earlier residential suburbs of Manchester, the "Chorlton" distinguished as "upon Medlock." At the summit of the rise the open space known as Grosvenor Square is flanked on the south by the Municipal School of Art, no mean structure, the Chorlton Town Hall, and the Cavendish Chapel, the scene of Dr. Parker's early ministry; while in the centre, surrounded by its cemetery, rises the dark pile of All Saints' Church, consecrated in 1820, and re-opened in 1850 after being destroyed by fire. Further south we pass, on the right, the new Dental Hospital, and reach the Manchester Museum and the constantly growing buildings of the University, a pile that, surmounted by the great staircase tower, never fails to give a pleasing effect, whether seen close at hand or from a distance, when, like the Town Hall tower, it forms one of the distinctive landmarks of Manchester.

Lower down, on the left, we catch a glimpse of the pleasing building that is the home of the Manchester High School for Girls (though the girls have overflowed long ago into adjoining buildings), and then, passing the church of the Holy Name, a fine example of thirteenth century Gothic, still awaiting completion, and leaving the less ornate College of Music away to the right, we see the vista already mentioned—the two graceful blocks of the Eye Hospital, the Royal Infirmary, built on the Pavilion principle, consisting of about

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Manchester Royal Infirmary.

fifty blocks, covering thirteen acres, the Union Chapel, built in 1869 for Dr. Maclaren's ministry, and the second St. Mary's Hospital, all on the left; and opposite to these the new Whitworth Art Gallery and the green lawns and trees of the Whitworth Park, where also is located the meteorological station of the University. We are now close to Victoria Park, a residential area covering 140 acres, laid out by a company incorporated under an Act of Parliament in 1837. It is only another illustration of the migration to the suburbs, that the large private residences here are being adapted one after another as Colleges, Hostels, or Boarding Establishments. Indeed, as we write, the quiet of the Park is threatened by a tram line, to cut right across it and skirt Birch Park as well.

If we elect to return by way of Plymouth Grove, we may pass on our way the plain but dignified Georgian house, No. 84, which was the residence for so many years of Mrs. Elizabeth Gaskell, the novelist, the home where she was visited by Charlotte Brontë, whose "Life" is one of Mrs. Gaskell's best known works; the home made by her and her daughters after her for sixty years "a focus for literary, scientific and philanthropic Manchester and the frequent resort of persons of distinction from outside." Their memory is still kept green by the recreation ground and the Memorial Nursing Home close by, on opposite sides of the open porch of which, on two separate tablets, we may read the inscriptions: "Founded in most loving memory of Julia Gaskell, 1909"; and: "Erected in affectionate remembrance of Miss M. E. Gaskell, the Founder of the Home. Died 26th Oct., 1913"; which tell their own tale. Thus these two sisters, inseparable during their lives, which were fragrant with good deeds, are not divided in death.

Returning, we pass London Road Station, which dates from 1841, with its modern extension at Mayfield, and note the arms of the old Manchester and Birmingham Railway, which have recently been hung over the North-western ticket window; we next reach the new fire-station, a fine block of buildings, opened in 1906; and leaving on the left the Gothic pile of the City Police Courts, already mentioned, and noticing the breaks in the iron railings in front of the Queen's Hotel,

which remind us that the building was once a row of houses, we arrive at the "Old Infirmary flags." To the north and east from this point stretches a great area crowded with narrow streets flanked by small houses, which, by a strange fatality, has never been a "residential" district (save the mark!). It encircles New Cross, encloses the great Smithfield Market at the top of Shude Hill, and stretches away over Newtown, Angel Meadow, Ancoats, and Collyhurst. Across this densely populated and unlovely tract run two broad streets intersecting almost at right angles at New Cross—Oldham Road and Great Ancoats Street, formerly Ancoats Lane, and still earlier "the way that leadeth unto Ancoats." They are so much broader than other streets in the vicinity, because centuries ago they were country roads, bordered with grass, cropped by straying cattle, and with cottages having gardens stretching down to the road in front of them. The houses in Rochdale Road, on the other hand, a modern thoroughfare dating from the beginning of the nineteenth century, were built in the first instance right up to the street.

Scattered over this area are various Institutions which aim at brightening the outlook and bettering the life of the people whose lot has been cast there; such are the Central Hall Wesleyan Mission, the New Islington Hall, the Star Hall, the Ancoats Hospital, the Bennett Street Sunday School, and, at the end of the old Ancoats Lane, housed in the old Ancoats Hall, the Art Museum and the University Settlement.

Returning to Piccadilly, and turning down Mosley Street, once a fashionable residential quarter, we pass several buildings in classical style—the old Portico Library opened in 1805, the ground floor of which is now the City and Midland Bank; the Art Gallery, a beautiful building in Greek Ionic style, formerly the Royal Institution, erected in 1823; and behind it the Athenæum, founded in 1835 by Richard Cobden and others, the building being opened four years later. At the bottom of Mosley Street a graceful cross marks the site of the dark pile of St. Peter's Church, which was consecrated in 1794 (De Quincey had memories of it), but was found eventually to block the traffic so seriously that it had to be removed. Here the new War Memorial has been erected.

From the centre of Mosley Street we may thread our way through a crowd of warehouses and banks to Spring Gardens, where we find more banks (note the massive building of the District Bank and the finely-conceived curve of the National Provincial), and the General Post Office, the busiest provincial Post Office in the Kingdom, housed in a building whose beauty is sadly hidden from view. The present structure dates from 1884. The vista of King Street has already been mentioned.

We are now close to Market Street again, a thoroughfare which, under various names, has persisted through many centuries. It was enlarged to its present width between 1822 and 1834, that is, before Manchester was incorporated, at a cost of nearly a quarter of a million. It is now one of the most congested streets in the city, if not in the country.

Corporation Street, which cuts it at right angles, is a comparatively modern thoroughfare; the construction of the section from Market Street to Withy Grove was begun in 1845. The great central offices of the Co-operative Wholesale Society on its eastern side are worthy of note. Further down, the inscription "Ashton House" (not easily seen) marks Manchester's first municipal lodging-house for women, a bright spot in a very crowded area. It is worth while ascending Hanover Street, on the right, passing on the way the Holyoake Memorial building, to see the examples of old Manchester residences, on both sides of the street, which must soon be swept away. A few minutes' walk will now bring us to the Exchange approach, from which we set out. From this point we may descend to Victoria Bridge, and cross the river to Salford; but as we have already enumerated the public buildings of Salford in an earlier chapter, they need not be described here in any detail.

* * * * *

The passage of traffic through Salford proper was greatly facilitated by the construction, in 1880, of the straight road from Blackfriars Bridge (which was built in 1820) to Broughton Bridge. The tolls levied on passengers crossing Broughton Bridge were not abolished till 1872. Thirty years

before this residents in Broughton paid no toll, and the toll-gatherer had to recognise them by sight!

If we elect to commence our Itinerary (as in the case of Central Manchester) by starting from the oldest part of the borough, *i.e.*, crossing Victoria Bridge, and passing along Greengate, we shall join this new road later, and may follow it as far as the river, passing the much-used baths on the left. Returning to our starting point, we may take a south-westerly direction along the ancient thoroughfare known originally as L'rtt or Lowergate, which has developed into the modern Chapel Street, named, of course, from Holy Trinity Church, once known as Salford Chapel. Here, formerly, a fire-bell was rung in case of need. Just before we reach the chapel we pass on the right the site of the famous "Flat-iron market"; which on Saturday evenings presents one of the most picturesque sights that either Manchester or Salford can offer.

Chapel Street is flanked by some of the principal public buildings and memorials of the borough, while on the left it is cut, almost at right angles, by roads leading from no less than four bridges—Victoria, Blackfriars, Albert, and Irwell; the last bringing us to the point where we pass, on the right, in rapid succession, the Town Hall (already described), the Roman Catholic Cathedral, the Royal Hospital, and several churches. Among these, St. Philip's, remembered as the scene, for many years, of the labours of the late Canon Hicks, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, was one of the four churches built in (or about) 1825 as the result of a grant from Parliament: the others being St. Matthew's, Campfield; St. George's, Hulme; and St. Andrew's, Ancoats; in the same year (1825) the foundation-stone of the Salford Town Hall and Market was laid by Lord Bexley. Just where the ancient thoroughfare of Oldfield Road enters on the left stand the war memorials. Before reaching these we may, if we wish, turn to the left along Islington Street, and visit the actual Islington Square which is immortalised by Frances Hodgson Burnett in her autobiography of her girlhood, entitled "The one I knew best of all."

Immediately beyond Oldfield Road is the rather striking "Crescent," once known as "Broken Bank"; of this, and of

Block lent by the Hospital Committee.]

Salford Royal Hospital.

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Peel Park that follows, we have already spoken; shortly afterwards the boundary of the township is reached, at the point known as Windsor. The road by which we have come now passes over to Pendleton as Broad Street, which divides in less than a mile to form the Bolton Road and the Eccles Old Road; we, however, turn southwards by the Oliver Heywood Memorial, along Cross Lane, another ancient thoroughfare, passing the cattle market on our right, reputed to be the largest in the Kingdom, and so arrive eventually at the Docks, the old Cross Lane merging itself in the more modern Trafford Road, which is continued as far as the swing bridge over the Irwell, having the Docks on one side and Ordsall Park on the other. Just short of the bridge a sharp turn to the left will take us into another ancient thoroughfare, Ordsall Lane, and we may follow this for a mile and a half, not forgetting that it was a country lane not very long ago, (passing the once moated Ordsall Hall almost immediately on our left), till it leads us by a winding course back to Chapel Street near the Town Hall.

Just at the point where (as we have seen in the first chapter) the Irwell passes over the great Irwell valley fault, the river is crossed by Regent Bridge. We have already mentioned that the straight road that runs nearly due west from this point appears on the old surveys as Back Lane. After passing Cross Lane as Regent Road, this becomes Eccles New Road, and the Salford Workhouse stands immediately to the north of it.

The mention of Irwell reminds us that we have been silent as to the rivers, for the glory has long ago departed from them. Yet even to these, dark and murky as they are, a touch of romance has been given by a writer to whose pen, wielded mostly in the silent hours, Manchester owes much. "Loyal Manchester men," he says, "homing from Florence, San Francisco, or Constantinople, will pause entranced on leaving the station, to lean over the bridge, and come into their own again. Below, on the torpid stream, refuse oils draw sheeny curvilinear grainings, parodies of a rainbow's palette, on a chocolate ground; late at night the quiet lifts into relief the still, small, multitudinous plop of bubbles

rising and breaking, a million infinitesimal belches. Day or night, as at the passing of Cleopatra's barge,

> 'A faint, invisible perfume hits the sense
> Of the adjacent wharves,'

wharves partly, factories mostly, springing their sixty feet of sheer out of the viscous fluid, their walls bored here and there with pipes of all calibres, some spitting fitful white rods of steam; from others, their nozzles flush with the bricks, all the waste filths of industry, bilges and rinsings and dirt-gorged greases, suppurate slowly and cake on the walls coat upon coat. You might say, not having love, a 'Venice in Hell'; but what are Thames and Tiber, Abana and Pharphar, to this Jordan, for this Israel? . . . . . *Largior hic aether campos.* Here they feel clean and blunt again; 'jannock' they call it." And indeed, even to those who are not Manchester born, there are vistas on the Irwell, viewed from some of the bridges, that—seen in the evening light—a Turner might have immortalised. Moreover, forbidding as the river's general aspect may be to-day, it is yet to be remembered that from the time when (as stated in the earliest known mediæval surveys) a line along mid-stream limited the fishing-rights of those on opposite banks, down to the present day, Irwell has remained the one line of demarcation between the two manors, the two towns, the two municipalities, in spite of any number of bridges and schemes for amalgamation.

* * * * *

We have enumerated the main thoroughfares that traverse the heart of these two communities. With the great arteries that radiate from the mother-township of Salford into Broughton and Pendleton, and with those that lead outwards from Central Manchester to the city boundaries, it would be impossible to deal here. A word must be said, however, with regard to the great advance in this matter that is due to the work of the Town-planning Committee of the Corporation—work which is becoming manifest in the broad handsome thoroughfares that have already been constructed. The illuminating Report on the Exhibition organised by this

Committee in 1922 has now been issued. We may at least draw attention to six maps among the illustrations which are of special interest.

The first shows the comparative volumes of traffic on the respective arterial roads radiating from the centre of the city. The other five form a series, prepared anonymously, representing: (1) A Plan of Manchester in 1845, showing it so surrounded by open spaces that, by judicious planning at that period, it "might have been moulded to be one of the finest cities in the Empire"; (2) Manchester in 1920—as it is. Here is indicated the great need for an inner ring road to link up the axial thoroughfares; Manchester at this stage is described as "a fair example of a modern city uncontrolled as regards building development and building user"; (3) Manchester in 1920 as it might have been if Town-planning had been set on foot in 1845; (4) Manchester in the year 2000, as it would be if the place were allowed to expand with no attention to Town-planning; (5) The City of Manchester in the year 2000 as it may be if the expansion of the place is properly controlled. In this ideal picture the noxious and offensive trades are concentrated in the north-eastern area; industrial and commercial works are located in groups outside the city; from these there is direct communication with residential districts still further afield; new arterial roads are added; there is a "civic centre"; provision is made for open spaces and for two aerodromes; and communication in the central part is facilitated by an underground railway. So far as a great city can be "ideal" at all, this conception, carefully worked out, is worthy of all consideration; it is interesting to place beside it the "plan of Manchester in 1650," the earliest known map of the town, and note the change possible in the short space of three and a half centuries in a community whose fate it has been to come under the spell of the great upheaval known as the Industrial Revolution.

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If from the streets themselves we now turn to statuary, attention should first be directed to the historical series, already mentioned, that adorns the north-western corner of

the Town Hall. Here are represented the Thomas Grelley who, as Baron of Manchester, granted a charter to the town in 1301; Henry, the fourth Earl and first Duke of Lancaster; Thomas la Warre, who collegiated the church in 1422; John Bradford, the Manchester martyr; Humphrey Chetham, the philanthropist; and Major-General Worsley, who represented Manchester in the Long Parliament.

If we come nearer to our own times, imagination and memory are assisted by the statues which preserve for us the very pose and features of leaders in thought, in politics, in war, in invention, in scientific discovery, in literature, in social reform. There are several striking groups of these in Manchester and Salford, by far the most striking in its setting being that in Peel Park. The group in Piccadilly (with the exception of the memorial of Queen Victoria, which cannot be considered a success) were unveiled, curiously, in successive years: Peel in 1854, Dalton in 1855, Wellington in 1856, and Watt in 1857; all of these men being associated with Manchester or Salford except the third. The figures surrounding Wellington represent Wisdom, Valour, Victory, and Peace; the bronze reliefs picture the battles of Assaye and Waterloo, the Duke receiving the the thanks of the Commons, and attending the Congress of Vienna. Behind his right foot are several volumes of the collected despatches. A sum of £7,000 was raised for this memorial, and thirty-seven models were exhibited to the public. The sculptor has represented Wellington's pose when he said, in moving the second reading of the Catholic Emancipation Bill on April the 2nd, 1829: "I am one of those who have probably passed a longer period of my life engaged in war than most men, and principally in civil war; and I must say this, that if I could avoid by any sacrifice whatever, even one month of civil war in the country to which I am attached, I would sacrifice my life to do it."

On our way to Albert Square we may, if we will, pass the very house (in George Street) where John Dalton worked out his atomic theory as the result of experiments on the nitrogen of the atmosphere, regarded as an element; in the same house, more than a century later, Sir Ernest Rutherford announced his discovery that nitrogen was a compound; and though we

are not here referring to statues in buildings (there are a number in the Town Hall, in Peel Park, at the Art Galleries, and at the Political Clubs), nor do we attempt any detailed reference to the portraits and pictures in the galleries or at the University, we cannot pass over the unique association of Dalton with Joule at the entrance to the Town Hall. The statue of the Prince Consort was presented by Mrs. Goadsby in 1867; the canopy was raised by public subscription. In the same year the Cobden statue was placed in St. Ann's Square. Mrs. Abel Heywood (another lady) gave the Cromwell statue in 1875; and twelve years later Bishop Fraser's was set up in Albert Square, to be followed at intervals by representations of John Bright, Oliver Heywood, and Mr. Gladstone. The latter, which was presented by Mr. William Roberts, shows a Treasury Bench pose on a famous occasion, and was unveiled by Mr. John Morley in 1901. In his own "Recollections" Lord Morley has quoted the words he employed on that occasion: "The thought with which he rose in the morning and went to rest at night was of the universe as a sublime moral theatre, in which an omnipotent Dramaturgist uses kingdoms and rulers, laws and policies, to exhibit sovereign purposes for good. This was the thought that lighted up the prose of politics with a ray from the diviner mind, and exalted his ephemeral discourse into a sort of visible relation with the counsels of all time." "So here," concludes Morley, "let me bid his great shade farewell and farewell." Just ten pages later, in the same volume, Morley refers to "a wreath of laurel" placed on his own brows in 1908, "when they chose me to succeed the Duke of Devonshire (himself the successor of Lord Spencer) as Chancellor of the University of Manchester, the capital city of my native land .... a post of which I am particularly proud for many reasons." In the following year Mr. Andrew Carnegie "has made me immortal by giving to the Manchester University £10,000 for a Chemical Laboratory on condition that they call it the John Morley Laboratory." A few months before his death Morley presented his own Library to the University, with the suggestion that it should be housed in the new buildings at the women's hostel at Ashburne Hall.

Cassidy's representation of Ben Brierley, in Queen's Park, dates from 1898. The Ernest Jones memorial (not a statue) stands in Ardwick Cemetery. Our latest statue, also by Mr. Cassidy, and the gift of Mr. James Gresham, is the fine bronze of King Edward VII, which stands almost facing the Infirmary, which he opened on the occasion of his last visit in 1909. Since the above was written Barnard's statue of Abraham Lincoln has been unveiled in Platt Fields, "in commemoration of Lancashire's friendship to the cause for which Lincoln lived and died, and of the Century of Peace among English-speaking peoples." The Boer war gave us two war memorials, and as we write schemes are afoot for commemorating by public cenotaphs the fallen heroes of the Great War. The group in Peel Park is interesting, not only for the site and the setting, but for the well-chosen inscriptions on the pedestals; to these we have already made some reference.

The statues just enumerated recall a succession of great careers, scenes, processions, agitations, and triumphs, of which something has been said in the preceding pages. But if we have statues, one thing sorely lacking in Manchester is the provision of memorial tablets. Not even an inscription marks the site of, or points the way to, the Roman fort; a stranger visiting Manchester, and asking to be directed to the oldest railway station in the world, would probably be met by looks of blank astonishment; yet there it stands, *in situ* and quite undistinguished, in Liverpool Road. And why does no simple tablet mark for present and future generations the site of the tragedy of Peterloo, or tell the story of St. Ann's Square, or indicate the residences of men like Cobden and Dalton, the place where Prince Charlie lodged in 1745, the line across which the fiercest fighting took place in the siege of Manchester, the position of John Byrom's house, where "Christians Awake!" was composed, of the building where De Quincey boarded as a schoolboy, and of the house in which the Anti-Corn Law League assembled, perhaps even the site of the beautiful Old Halls that have vanished before the builder? It has been left so far to the Directors of the Manchester and Liverpool District Bank to show, by the admirably clear historical tablet which they have placed over

the entrance to their branch in King Street, how the history of the city, which touches the history of the country at so many points, might be written on its walls, so that the children of successive generations, the busy workers who might catch some inspiration from such memorials, and the stranger within the gates, may—even as they run—read something of the Romance of Manchester streets.

CHAPTER XXXI.

The Part Played by Manchester and Salford in the Great War.

More than once, in the preceding chapters, we have had occasion to mention the patriotic spirit shown by the people of Manchester and Salford, whenever the country was in danger, and needed their help. All former efforts, however, were eclipsed by what the two towns accomplished during the Great War of 1914—1919. Things which became painfully familiar to those who lived through these fateful years will be hardly believable forty years on; but if this history is to be in any sense complete they must be placed on record.

To many, to whom the shock of the declaration of war came quite unexpectedly, the recollection of the opening days is still a vivid memory. There was never the faintest sign of panic or apprehension, but very striking was the grave aspect of those who walked the streets on the memorable fourth of August, 1914, and bought up the issues of the evening papers that followed one another in such rapid succession. Vague rumours of actual or impending naval encounters were flying about, but the prevailing note was one of quiet and intense seriousness, of deep regret for what was apparently inevitable, of vivid realisation of the terrible suffering and bereavement that must ensue in the near future, and finally, a bracing of the nerves for what was impending.

This last was assisted by the forethought of the National Defence Committee, who had taken effective steps to provide for all emergencies that could be foreseen, and to forestall anything like panic. The civilian population were urged to "carry on," and to leave the military situation with confidence to those responsible for it. For weeks the public (thanks to the loyalty of the Press to the directions sent from head-quarters) were quite in the dark as to what was being done;

then came the first news of the redoubtable "expeditionary force"; the story of the deeds and the endurance of the "contemptible little army"; the Retreat from Mons; the sweep of the German hosts towards Paris; the check at the Marne; and then the sweep back, at which the country breathed once more, following with eager pride the detail of Sir John French's famous despatches, and the descriptions written by the "Eye-witness at the Front."

Meanwhile Manchester had seen the rapid mobilisation of the Territorials, and the arrest of the first batch of German prisoners at the docks, and was now beginning to feel the pinch of an economic situation which threw thousands—not only of the poor, but of the hitherto well-to-do—out of employment, and necessitated the raising of special funds for their relief. A national appeal, bearing the name of the Prince of Wales, realised eventually nearly six and a half millions (including about half a million accumulated in interest), and towards this Manchester contributed nearly £47,000, and Salford over £8,000. Belgian refugees poured into this country, large parties coming to Manchester at intervals, their arrival at the stations being watched by large and sympathetic crowds; these were housed and cared for by a Belgian Refugees Committee, and a special Belgian fund realised in Manchester over £14,000, and in Salford over £7,000, exclusive of more than £13,000 which was administered for the Government Branch of the War Refugees Committee. The number of Belgian Refugees assisted in Manchester is given as 3,500; similarly, Salford made itself responsible for 115 families. Later, a Committee was formed to assist Belgian Prisoners of War. The amount collected by the Manchester Branch of the Serbian Relief Fund, again, was close upon £6,700.

Manchester, moreover, raised as its own Local Relief Fund more than £126,800, and Salford over £16,000; hundreds of pounds being realised weekly by collections made in the ticket-boxes on the trams. Accumulated interest would swell these amounts appreciably.

Nor, while remembering the needs of our own people, and of the refugees of our Allies, did the citizens of Manchester

forget that there were a large number of women and children in the city who belonged to the nations with whom we were at war, who were hard hit by the fact that the men of their families were either abroad and fighting against us, or were interned in camps in England, and in either case were unable to support them. The Society of Friends and others joined hands with the existing Distressed Foreigners Society in rendering the aid so much needed in these cases.

A "Local Representative Committee," called in response to a Memorandum issued by the Government, met at the Town Hall and appointed Sub-Committees to deal with Finance, Unemployment, and the Dependants of Soldiers and Sailors, and a Committee of Voluntary Workers willingly undertook the labour of visiting and reporting upon families in distress. The Education Committee, the City League of Help, and a number of social and political organisations immediately placed their machinery at the disposal of the Town Hall Committees. This is the place to mention valuable work done by a women's sub-committee, which provided employment at the moment for destitute women in such a way that they received training which enabled them later on to find regular work. The clothing made at the working centres was distributed to needy cases, and there was a regular provision of dinners for expectant mothers, and for children under five and therefore outside the jurisdiction of the Education Committee.

The situation as regards employment was afterwards eased, partly owing to the drain of men for the front, partly by the enormous demand for munitions of war, especially after the visit of Mr. Lloyd George, as Minister of Munitions, when all available works became producers in that department; yet a number of the Committees just mentioned worked steadily on during the five years.

One outstanding feature of the situation was the way in which women came into their own. At first the appearance of women as bank clerks, cashiers, city clerks, booking clerks, ticket collectors, tramguards, agricultural labourers, lurry drivers, and railway porters, was a startling novelty, but the sight soon became familiar, and later on we were to see squads of the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps, dressed in khaki,

marching through the streets, or drilled by lady officers in Chetham's yard; and indeed, it was during the war, and largely in warm and grateful acknowledgment of the part played by women in so many capacities, but perhaps most of all in munition work and in the hospitals, that the sex disability was removed (almost synchronously with the jubilee of the Manchester Society for Woman's Suffrage, itself dating from the inception of the movement in the country), and women obtained the Parliamentary vote.

Meanwhile the War Office looked to Manchester to render important aid in the treatment of the wounded, who were now pouring back across the Channel. War had only just been declared when the principal new school buildings in Manchester and Salford were commandeered as military hospitals, and an enormous effort was made besides by the Red Cross Societies and by private individuals unofficially, to meet the demand, not only for hospital treatment, but also for Rest Homes for the convalescents. Trains were met at all hours of the night by committees of ladies, who provided refreshments, and assisted in removing the wounded; clubs were started, the grounds of beautiful country-houses were thrown open to the men in blue hospital dress; the gates of hundreds of villa residences bore the notice: "Wounded soldiers may rest in this garden"; motor rides were organised as long as petrol could be obtained; innumerable concerts and entertainments were arranged, theatres and palaces gave free matinées; and a special committee was formed to provide a constant supply of the necessary hospital garments and other details. Once, when the War Office issued an appeal for cotton-wool respirators as a protection against poison-gas, the girls in the high schools worked with such expedition that the supply almost immediately overstepped the demand.

Hand in hand with the British Red Cross Society worked such organisations as the St. John's Ambulance Association, the Wounded Soldiers' Tobacco Fund, the Music in War-time Committee, the Lloyd's Bank Entertainment Fund, and the Nurses' Rest Room. During the War Manchester and Salford constituted perhaps the largest hospital centre in the United Kingdom. Over a thousand ambulance trains arrived,

conveying nearly 180,000 cases. Throughout, the conveyance of the wounded was carried on by voluntary work, about 180 cars and ambulances being employed. The total number of cases transferred was over 700,000. The total hospital accommodation in Manchester and Salford was 10,790. The Red Cross hospitals alone dealt with 34,762 cases, and the approximate cost of maintenance of these institutions was £257,000. The members of Voluntary Aid Detachments numbered 3,575. The working parties, besides providing for all local requirements, despatched close upon 400,000 articles to the front; in addition to this, the War Hospital Supply Rooms, centred at Dover House in Oxford Road, and differentiated as Bandage Room, Garment Room, Linen Room, and Slipper Room, supplied very nearly 200,000. For the work at Dover House alone a sum of nearly £6,000 was raised.

There was a special department for making enquiries about wounded and missing men; over 8,000 reports were actually received in answer to nearly 13,000 enquiries. If the relatives of the sick and wounded came to Manchester, they found a special Hostel provided for them. Twenty Ambulance Air Raid stations were maintained.

Lastly, the organisation of permanent help for the disabled men of East Lancashire was largely centred in Manchester and Salford. A sum of £100,000 was raised for Homes for disabled soldiers and sailors; a further sum of £20,000 was subscribed for the treatment of cases at the orthopædic hospital. There was also a special hospital provided for limbless cases. Surely we may add here that one thing that will always be remembered by those who were privileged to assist in any of these ways, is the unfailing cheerfulness, buoyancy, good humour, and unaffected modesty, of these wounded men, many of whom, after all,—maimed, mutilated, and disabled, some in the bloom of youth, some in the prime of life, brought long tedious journeys on stretchers, across a stormy channel, over hundreds of miles of railway, with years of pain and slow recovery before them, with prospects blighted—have been and will be the greatest sufferers. These things, however, of which we have but too frequent reminders in our streets every day, only serve to bring home the realities that are inseparable from

war. Nor must we forget how familiar, and how frequently upon our lips in those days, was the fatal word "Killed," and how much it meant to those more immediately concerned.

Of course it is needless to say that the Manchester Branch of the Y.M.C.A. was well to the fore in the magnificent effort made by that organisation all over the world to meet the need—especially the need for home comforts, social intercourse, friendly counsel and temporary lodging—felt by those who were so hurriedly thrown into conditions of camp life often rapidly improvised. The amount of money raised by the Manchester Y.M.C.A. during the war for war-work purposes was approximately £105,000. This does not include the amount contributed by Manchester donors to the National Council of Y.M.C.A.'s, which may be at least equal to it. After gallant efforts to cope with the demand for accommodation—especially for soldiers and sailors passing through Manchester and requiring temporary lodging—the Y.M.C.A. erected the Manchester City "Hut" (now the Technical Library), on the Old Infirmary site, the amount raised for this being £11,000. Here, under the ægis of the Red Triangle, which has become the symbol for so much to the soldier, men in khaki, weary and stranded, found rest, recreation, social intercourse, and friendly assistance, to such an extent that the number of men entertained by the Manchester Y.M.C.A. during the war, reckoning by daily attendances, was certainly upwards of five millions.

Meanwhile, the Boy Scouts and the Girl Guides were busy, each in their own sphere—(the girl guides, for example, were quite indispensable at the meeting of the British Association in the city in 1915, on which occasion, by the way, practically the whole of the secretarial work was done by ladies)—helping as hospital orderlies, collecting newspapers and periodicals to meet the paper shortage, as messengers, and so on.

Gold gradually disappeared and was replaced by a paper currency which was for some time a novelty; many people also now learnt for the first time the meaning of the word "moratorium"; some even went so far as to extend its meaning, and this detail at any rate enabled *Punch* to give a touch of humour to the situation.

The civilian effort, however, was only a small part of the contribution of Manchester and Salford in the country's hour of need. As in the time of the Armada, the War of the French Revolution, the struggle with Napoleon, they were vying with other great towns in the country in sending out a continuous stream of fighting men. Manchester and Salford form the centre of a huge population, and it is difficult to sift the recruiting statistics, especially as the War Office does not recognise the two towns as a unit in any sense. The situation is further complicated by the fact that eventually the recruiting passed under the control of the Ministry of National Service; now that peace has been concluded it has once more come into the hands of the military authorities. We give here the figures obtained as the result of personal application at the recruiting offices. The chief recruiting officer in August, 1919, writes: "The Registers in my possession show 140,120 as having been enlisted in the Manchester City recruiting area during the period August the 4th, 1914, to January the 9th, 1918. This total does not include the Salford Battalions, nor the number enlisted between January the 9th, 1918, and the date of the Armistice, during which period the recruiting for this district was carried out by the Ministry of National Service." The representative of the Ministry of National Service in Manchester in August, 1919, again, told the writer verbally that identification numbers were given to the recruits, and that his last identification number was above 94,000; he stated, however, that there were rejections to allow for. Salford was not itself a recruiting centre, but was included for this purpose in the Bury area; an enquiry sent to the recruiting officer at Bury elicited the information that the recruiting there passed back into the hands of the military authorities on January 15th, 1919, and that the previous records were not in his hands. At the naval recruiting office in Deansgate the approximate total given was "between twenty and twenty-five thousand." These figures apply to Manchester only. There were, besides, special days on which units such as the Royal Scots were allowed to beat up recruits. After all due allowance for rejections and for overlapping, the number recruited in Manchester and Salford does work out at a striking

percentage of the population. We do not attempt the calculation here, in face of the incomplete data, but merely call attention to the fact that in August, 1919, the War Cabinet gave as the grand total for England alone just over 4,000,000; for the Empire, including coloured troops in India, over 8,650,000.

Recruiting in the Great War passed through a number of stages. There was, first of all, the ordinary enlistment, when the standards as to age and qualifications were kept very high. There followed the famous appeal of "K. of K.," and the unique spectacle was witnessed of the great Kitchener armies suddenly springing into being as if by magic. Just as, in the year of the Armada in Elizabeth's reign, it was a Derby who raised the standard, calling upon every man to arm in defence of "country, liberty, wife, children, lands, life, and the true religion," so in the Great War just three and a quarter centuries later, it was a representative of the same house who constituted himself Lord Kitchener's henchman in the matter of beating up recruits, and his portrait appropriately forms the frontispiece of each of the two handsome volumes which commemorate the glorious effort of the City Battalions and the Salford Brigade. The voluntary recruiting was followed by the "attesting" scheme; eventually the increasing need for more and ever more men led to the adoption of conscription.

Long before that was ever dreamt of there had streamed forth from the offices and warehouses and works of Manchester and Salford the thousands of youths and men who formed the famous battalions just mentioned, known at first as the "Pals." Many will remember the impressive scene at the first inspection of these gallant units in Heaton Park, when it was all so novel, and even the skies, by their leaden hue, seemed to reflect the feeling uppermost in so many hearts that, glorious as the sacrifice might be, many of those who marched that day in their neat blue uniforms (khaki could not be obtained at first) would never see their homes again.

"This I hold to be the genuine use of gunpowder," wrote Teufelsdröckh, "that it makes all men alike tall." And so it came about that, with Lord Kitchener's approval, "Bantam"

battalions were formed as well in Manchester and in Salford. Lord Kitchener came down himself to inspect all these local battalions, and from twelve to fifteen thousand men marched past him as he stood on the steps of the Town Hall in Albert Square on the afternoon of Sunday, the 21st of March, 1915.

The original aim had been to raise one battalion in Manchester and one in Salford, but eventually Manchester's effort added two Brigades of four battalions each to the Manchester Regiment, whose records cover so many campaigns; besides the Depôt companies left behind; while Salford, thanks largely to the energy of Sir Montague Barlow, furnished a Brigade of four service battalions and one reserve battalion to the Lancashire Fusiliers, that being the Territorial title bestowed in 1881 upon the old Twentieth Regiment, which the Duke of Wellington described in 1838 as "the best and most distinguished of the many distinguished regiments of the British Army which he had had the honour of commanding." The story of the inception of these Brigades and of their achievements in the field is told in the two handsome volumes already mentioned, which contain some three hundred whole-plate photographs of the various platoons, the officers and the committees. The guarantee funds amounted to about £30,000.

It would be impossible even to enumerate the exploits of these troops. Nor do we attempt a bare list of the achievements of the Territorials and the recruits from Manchester and Salford in the various other branches of the service, in the navy, and in the air force. A writer is almost afraid to refer to particular campaigns because many others may be equally worthy of mention. In the present instance, moreover, a special fund has been raised to defray the expense of publishing an authentic record. Here, however, we may at least quote the words of two generals.

Addressing a great audience at the Hippodrome on January the 21st, 1920, when the freedom of the City of Manchester was conferred upon him, Lord Haig said: "If I can look back on the past with some natural feelings of satisfaction and pride, as well as with deep thankfulness and reverence, so can Manchester. No mean part of the noble

armies I commanded was composed of Manchester men, and no small number of the more glorious actions of the war were performed or shared in by men of that city.

"When the new armies were first called upon to show their mettle on a large scale, Manchester was well and nobly represented. In the first great attack on the Somme, our chief success was gained on the right of the line. In that area of battle were to be found two divisions—the 30th and the 7th—both of them containing a large proportion of battalions recruited from Manchester or its neighbourhood. On that day Montauban and Mametz fell to those divisions—the first spoils in one of the most bitterly contested battles the world had ever seen.

"That was not the end of the fighting for Manchester troops in that terrible and prolonged struggle, as Bazentin, High Wood, and Ginchy could testify. I am told that there were some who said, at the end of 1916, that we must have no more Somme battles. I know one at least who thought so, and that was the chief of the great German General Staff, Ludendorff. I would not seem to talk lightly concerning sacred things. The battlefields on which was shed the blood of our best and bravest are to us sacred. But neither would I have it thought that those who fell on the slopes and spurs of the shell-riven ridge that guarded the approaches to Bapaume died without purpose.

"The 30th Division was present at the great battle east of Arras in April, 1917, when the enemy's resources were stretched to the utmost to patch the great breach our troops had made in his defences; and later in the same year the same Division added Sanctuary Wood to its battle honours. In the most brilliant and successful, perhaps, of all the Ypres attacks of that year, the battle of October the 4th, 1917, the 7th Division took up once more the tale of Manchester prowess—to be aided therein a few days later by another Division, yet more largely recruited from Manchester, the 66th.

"There are those who hold the view that from the date of the first Allied Victory on the Marne the ultimate defeat of Germany became certain. That is as it may be. Yet we on our side know how nearly the "gambler's throw," as it is

now sometimes called, of March, 1918, came to the narrow border-line that divides failure from success. Our knowledge should be the measure of our gratitude to those whose constancy and heroism saved the allied armies from disaster."

Less than a fortnight later, General Sir Ian Hamilton, speaking in Manchester, referred to his connection with the Manchester Regiment at Cæsar's Camp and at Elandslaagte. "But never," he said, "did I feel so proud of those old heroes, as I did of you of the 42nd Division on June the 4th, 1915, when I saw you make the attack. After a pitifully insufficient bombardment, on the stroke of mid-day, this is what happened as it stands written in my diary: 'But the boldest and most brilliant exploit of the lot was the charge made by the Manchester Brigade and the 5th Lancashire Fusiliers in the centre, who wrested two lines of trenches from the Turks, and then, carrying right on—on to the lower slopes of Achi Baba—had nothing between them and its summit but the clear untrenched hillside. They lay there—the line of our brave lads, plainly visible to a pair of good glasses—there they actually lay. We wanted, so it seemed, but a reserve to advance to their support, and carry them right up to the top. We said—and yet could hardly believe our own words—'We are through'?"

Those whom these brave men left behind can tell how constantly they were followed in thought, how eagerly the record of their deeds was received and treasured, and with what zest friends and relatives and fellow-townsmen rallied to all the appeals for providing special comforts for them, particularly in the long severe winters, when the thought of their exposure and danger came specially home to those more comfortably placed. In this matter the various newspapers lent valuable aid. Year after year it was easy to raise funds—indeed they flowed in—for this purpose, as well as for the assistance of the dependants of the absent heroes. One detail in this connection which must have been of comfort to the bread-winners abroad, was the arrangement to give free medical attendance to the members of their families left behind who needed it. The doctors gave their services, and the cost of drugs was defrayed through the Soldiers and Sailors'

Families Association. Legal advice was also given gratis through the members of the Manchester Law Society.

Recruiting depleted the ranks of the police, 700 of whom enlisted from Manchester, 81 never to return; 138 enlisted from the Salford force, of whom 21 were killed. To meet the deficiency a force of Special Constables sprang into being. The Chief Constable, himself knighted for his services during the war, gives the total number enrolled as about 15,000. To this number must be added 800 enrolled in Salford. The self-denial of these men, in giving their leisure and often their nights to the public service, at a time when the calls of their own occupations were more pressing than usual, owing to the shortage of labour, was specially praiseworthy. The Manchester Special Constables were the first in the country to take up special police work, such as the difficult point-duty where traffic is congested in the streets.

There are other phases of the strenuous and anxious life of these years, which are almost forgotten in these times of peace and comparative plenty. For a time, before the submarine menace was got under, the shortage of food raised the fear that rationing would come eventually. We shall hardly be able to believe in years to come that the walls then were placarded with large, coloured, illustrated posters urging everyone to EAT LESS BREAD. Rationing came in the end and was cheerfully faced; organised food-control at length abolished the long queues of women and others outside the provision shops, which were a painful feature for the moment; and vigorous voluntary efforts in gardens and allotments on the part of all—not forgetting the boys and girls, the teachers and students, who assisted in this work, as well as in the harvest, year after year—so increased the country's food supply that anxiety on this score was largely removed. In this connection the Parks Committees rendered valuable service. Yet it was the case that a number who had lived in affluence before the war felt the pinch for a time, learnt what was the real meaning of "tightening the belt," rose from their meals hungry day after day, and practised small economies in clothes and fuel and luxuries which they would hardly have thought possible before the war began.

Spasmodic naval raids on the east coast towns made it necessary for Manchester people who could afford time for it to turn elsewhere for their summer rest, and there was for a short time some dread of the much-vaunted Zeppelins, till the systematic darkening of the city and suburbs, and the provision of an ample supply of searchlights and anti-aircraft guns restored confidence in this matter also. Now we do not see ten or twelve electric beams sweeping the skies nightly from dusk till dawn, and the anti-aircraft guns, shrouded in their tarpaulin wrappings, have disappeared.

There was one more effort in which Manchester and Salford—always eager to be first—did no doubt give a lead. The successive war loans rose from $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and finally to 5 and $5\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. It was the second that produced the long queues of investors, and necessitated the opening of a special bank in King Street to receive deposits. On several occasions Manchester was visited by a tank, which stood in Albert Square, and at which receipts were stamped; later on came a "Feed the guns" campaign, when the Old Infirmary site in Piccadilly was boarded in, and the stamping of receipts was actually carried out at the breeches of a number of guns of large calibre mounted there for the purpose. No doubt these tank and gun receipts will be treasured as mementoes in years to come. On every occasion Manchester and Salford achieved the total set as their task, and when, at the end, thirty millions were asked for as their contribution to the Victory Loan, thirty millions were forthcoming.

The ebullition of feeling that marked the announcement of the signing of the Armistice had none of the objectionable elements associated with "mafficking." A spontaneous irrepressible cheer arose from the 1,200 boys incarcerated at the moment in the Grammar School in Long Millgate, and supposed to be intent upon other things; during the day girls in their excitement climbed on to the lurries, and rode through the streets singing and waving flags; later, in the evening, there were processions and other rejoicings, and from that time onwards dances and other forms of recreation, cricket, tennis, and other games, all of which had been more or less

in abeyance during the war, began to be in vogue once more. There was a subdued tone about the Peace celebrations—so many were missing; and this brings us finally to speak of the many solemn services in the cathedral, when all due honour was reverently paid to the memory of those who had cheerfully made the great sacrifice, and were not privileged to see the fruits of their heroism and unselfish devotion.

Of these men, and of many brave women also, who cheerfully laid down their lives in the same cause—of all these "the whole earth is the sepulchre. Not only in the graven monuments of their own country does their record live; but beyond its borders, not in letters carven upon stone, but in the sanctuary of men's hearts, is their memory enshrined."

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